Denmark Vindicated:

BEING AN

ANSVVER

To a late Treatiſe called,

An ACCOUNT of

Denmark,

As it was in the Year 1692.

Sent from a Gentleman in the Country, to his Friend in *London.*

Corn. Nep. *Hæc præcipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad ſuos referant; neve ea, quæ ipſis leviora ſunt, pari modo apud cæteros fuiſſe arbitrentur.*

Terent. *Facium', ne, intelligendo ut nihil intelligant.*

LONDON:
Printed for *Tho. Newborough* at the *Golden-Ball*; and *Ed. Mory* at the 3 *Bibles* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1694.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

The Moſt Illuſtrious

PRINCE GEORGE,

Only Brother to

His MAJESTY, the

Preſent King of *Denmark*.

May it pleaſe Your Royal Highneſs,

AS true Hiſtory tranſmits to poſterity the good and bad Counſels not only, but alſo the moſt Famous Actions of Great Men; ſo Princes, and Men of the firſt Rank, ſeem more particularly concern'd in maintain-

ing its Sacred Laws againſt ſuch as prompted either by their Vanity or Malice, endeavour too frequently to pervert the ſame. I having undertaken in this preſent Treatiſe, to vindicate in ſome meaſure the KINGDOM of DENMARK, againſt a nameleſs Author, who, (as much as in him lays) has endeavoured to miſrepreſent the State of your R. H's Native Country, and the moſt antient Rights of your Royal Family in *Denmark*: I thought I ſhould appear to the World to be wanting in my Duty to your R. Highneſs, and to deviate from that profound Veneration, which I have always paid to your R. H's moſt eminent Vertues of Valour, Moderation and Love of Truth; if I ſhould have committed this Work to the protection of another, which I was ſenſible ought to implore no other, but that of your Royal

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Highnesse, My chief aim in this Undertaking has been to undeceive such, as being not acquainted with the true State of *Denmark*, might be apt to mistake fair shining appearances for the Truth it self; wherein I have sought more for the Satisfaction of being approved of by the most understanding sort, than the multitude (whose applauses I never sought, nor valued) So, if I have been able to contribute any thing in this Matter, which may meet with the least Approbation from a PRINCE, who by his BIRTH, and exquisite KNOWLEDG of the Constitutions of his Native Country, and the Prerogatives of his ROYAL Ancestors, is the most unquestionable judge of this Vindication: I shall always esteem it as the greatest honour, which I could pretend to in this undertaking. *Pompous* words (the

common ingredient of our new-fashion'd Dedications) being the Scorn of great Souls, ought not to be brought into your R. H's Presence. But instead of these, I will offer my fervent Prayers to Heaven for the Prosperity of your R. H. and your most illustrious Family, humbly intreating your R. H. graciously to accept of this as an unfeigned Testimony of my constant Zeal for your R. H's Service, and begging leave to call my self,

Your Royal Highness's

Most Humble and

Devoted Servant,

J. C.

A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN in the Country, TO HIS FRIEND in *LONDON*.

SIR,

NExt to the most acceptable News of your health, nothing could at this time have been more welcome to me in my retirement, than the Book you sent me concerning the present State of Denmark; *which, as it has, with pleasure revived in me the remembrance of such Matters, as formerly I had observed in those Northern Countries; so the reading of it at such intervals as were free from the usual jollities of the* Christmas *Holy-Days, has afforded no small variety*

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to me, when tir'd with the diverſions, this Seaſon particularly allows us in the Country. I had ſome days before I received yours, heard a moſt advantageous Character of the ſaid Book, from ſome Gentlemen, who being Fellows, if not the Heads of a State-Reforming Society in London, were come, partly to paſs the Holy-Days in the Country, partly to communicate to their Friends here, the Reſults of their grave Debates in their ſeveral London Clubs, and had among other State-Cenſuring Pamphlets (as I underſtood) recommended this Treatiſe as a ſingular piece, fit to improve the Knowledge of all ſuch as deſired to be inſtructed in State Affairs. The Truth is, knowing theſe Gentlemen to be of a Society, the Members whereof I know not by what antient Title, which they deduce even from the times of the Romans, claim a prerogative of Cenſuring not only foreign States, but alſo our own in particular, as often as Matters do not fully anſwer the ends of their wiſe Conſultations: I had a more than common Curioſity, to peruſe a Treatiſe, which they

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seemed to be so fond of, even to admiration. But, as soon as I found the Title Page not only without the Author's Name (which seems so requisite to give an Authority to Historical Treatises, that I do not see how any body can challenge a belief from his judicious Reader without it) but also the Printer's *omitted; the work seem'd to me at the very first sight, to carry with it a shrewd suspicion, if not of downright falshood, at least of an unanswerable partiality. And to speak freely, when immediately after in the* Preface, *so disproportionable both to the nature and bigness of the Treatise, there appeared to me every where the foot-steps of a conceited Home-breeding, and every Leaf almost stuft up with the Praise of This, and the Diminution and Undervaluing of other Countries, confirmed with far fetch'd Arguments, devised on purpose rather to amuse and ensnare, than impartially to instruct the Reader: I did conclude, that our unknown Author's intention was to give us a Novel, such as the* Turkish Spy, *or the like (wherein of late years some*

have

have taken a priviledge to intermingle Truth with their own Inventions, accommodating the whole more to their own Fancies, or else to the Humors of such as they seek to please, than to the sacred Laws of History) but not a true and impartial Account of the present State of Denmark. *When soon after my Curiosity did lead me to make a true comparison betwixt the most remarkable passages related in this Treatise, and such Matters as either my memory or observations, which I had made some years ago, when conversant in those Countries, as also the correspondence of my Friends from thence had furnished me withal; I was sufficiently convinced, that in the most concerns of Moment our Author had endeavoured, by an affected Stile, rather to adapt the whole to his Conceits in the* Preface, *than the* Preface *to the* Work. *The gross and unaccountable Comparison especially, made betwixt the Northern parts of the World and the* Turkish *Government, nay, even the preferring the latter before the others may, I think, serve, as an undeniable*

Argu-

Argument to all unbyaſs'd Perſons, That the Author did not intend to give us a juſt account of thoſe Countries, but under a Romantick Cover of Arbitrary Power, to repreſent Tyranny in its worſt ſhape to the Engliſh *Nation. And as this is plainly apparent out of ſeveral paſſages of the ſaid Book, ſo it ſeems to be the only excuſe that can be made for theſe extravagancies and groundleſs Aſperſions, ſo little ſuitable to the rules of true Hiſtory, wherewith it is filled up from the beginning of the Preface, to the very concluſion. Certainly, if this Author's Intention had been to give a warrantable Account of* Denmark, *it would have been much more glorious and conſonant to the practice of all civilized Nations, to have imitated the frankneſs and integrity of the antient* Romans, *whom he ſeems ſo much to admire, and more particularly, that of* Tacitus *in his Book, which he writ concerning the* Germans *in his Time. Thoſe, who ſee this Author quoted, not only in the Title page, but alſo in ſeveral places afterwards, will ſcarce believe that any other, but the above mentioned*

oned Reason could induce our Author, to recede so far from the Method of an approved Historian; and the so much applauded moderation of him, whom he himself praises as the greatest of Politicians of his Time. Neither will the difference which some pretend to have found out betwixt those Times and our Age, be a sufficient excuse for this new-invented way of writing; since, if our Author had been more taken with an Ambition to imitate Modern than antient Writers in this kind, there are not wanting Examples among them of undeniable Sincerity and Modesty. The Memoirs of Villeroy, and the Letters of Cardinal D'Ossat have deserved such praises from the most unbyassed, and eminent Politicians, that he need not have been ashamed to tread in their footsteps. Even the Northern parts, where our Author falsly imagines all Learning to be extinguished, can furnish him with a Pattern of this Kind in their incomparable Mouzam bano, of the State of the German Empire; according to which, if he had regulated himself, he would not have scattered such abundance

dance of ill grounded Reflections against many Illustrious Persons, and had better deserved the Name of a true Historian. But, if nothing of Foreign Vertue could be charming enough to our Author, the living Examples either of Sir William Temple, or of the so much celebrated Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Salisbury, in his Observations especially made, concerning his Travels, and published some years ago, ought to have excited him to deserve the same Character; except our Author has an in born Aversion to any thing that has the least relation to the North. To conclude; this Author seems to be a great Admirer, and to have adapted the whole Work to the Doctrine of some political Doctors among us; who having gathered their phantastical Notions of a Platonick Government without Faults, out of such antient Philosophers, as used to fight Battels in their Studies, and with florid Speeches infuse their Conceits of Governing into their Auditors, do very industriously labour to spread their vain Opinion, to the great disadvantage of the State. And I think,

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the whole Work may serve as a convincing Instance, to shew the World how difficult it is to shake off such Prejudices, as are implanted in our tender Age, and have in process of time taken root with us; so that it is manifest, that (notwithstanding our Author's Opinion in his Preface) Travelling too late proves sometimes as ineffectual, as going abroad too young. This being, what in general may justly be said of this Treatise, I have communicated to you with the same freedom, as I thought was becoming our Friendship, and the satisfaction I always take in contributing any thing to your Curiosity.

But the particular consideration of the whole much exceeding the compass of a Letter, I have in the enclosed Papers set down such impartial animadversions, as seemed to me necessary towards the explaining of the chief points in the whole Treatise, wherein if I have added any thing to your satisfaction, it fully answers the ends of him, who, Sir, always will be

Your affectionate Friend and Servant.

January 16. 169¼.

REMARKS

UPON THE

PREFACE.

BOOKS without their Author's Names, being like Baſtards, who cannot claim the leaſt Prerogative from their Parentage, ought queſtionleſs to challenge no other Authority but what is derived from their own Deſerts. And tho' it is not to be denyed, but that ſometimes the Circumſtances of time and place may be a good Plea to ſome Authors, who have diſguiſed themſelves under fictitious Names; or elſe ſet none at all to their judicious Pieces. Yet it muſt alſo be owned, That whenever they have tranſgreſſed the Rules of true Sincerity and Modeſty, and endeavoured rather to recommend themſelves to the Reader by their pompous Words, than approved Truth, they have deſervedly incurred the Cenſures of all

Judicious and Unbyaſſed Perſons. If the Author of the Treatiſe, called, *An Account of Denmark*, had made the leaſt Reflection (as he ought to have done) upon this, certainly he would not have been ſo much pre-poſſeſſed with the Vanity of his own Inventions, as to believe, That the ſame, tho' never ſo gaudily dreſs'd up with fine Words, and adorned with fair Suppoſitions, could be received as a Truth among the more ſenſible part of Mankind. But to come to the Matter it ſelf; *Health and Liberty are, without diſpute, the greateſt natural Bleſſings Mankind is capable of enjoying*, ſays our Author at the very beginning of his Preface. That Health and Liberty, duly conſidered, are Two precious Jewels, ſcarce ſufficiently to be valued, has never been queſtioned in this part of the World, But ſince Phyſicians themſelves do not agree in the true nature of the Firſt, as admitting of ſeveral Degrees, and being ſcarce ever to be found in its due Perfection; and the Degrees of the Second, being by all Judicious Politicians, adapted to the ſeveral Conſtitutions of thoſe Countries, and Inhabitants where the ſame is to be exerciſed, our Author would have done very prudently

ly to have have given us a more clear and satisfactory Notion of the true Nature of both. So do we see Pharmaceutical Ladies, the (according to their natural Constitution in good Health) affect sometimes to be leaner, sometimes fatter; sometimes to nauseate a small Pimple, or even their natural Colour; sometimes imagining (tho falsely) I know not what Indisposition in their Body; and by Vomits, repelling Medicines, and other destructive Methods, bring upon themselves dangerous Diseases. And how often the mistaken Rules of Liberty, have proved not only troublesome, but also fatal, the Histories of all Ages do abundantly testifie. I had therefore (in my Judgment) been more suitable to the nature of an Historical Treatise, and the Circumstances also of our present Enjoyment of sufficient Liberty, under the Conduct of a Wise and Just King, to have given a true Scheme of moderate Liberty, than to represent to us at this time a Romantick Notion of the same, by fetching the *Italian* out of his own Country, and transferring of him into *Greenland*; for these are his Words: *But as an* Italian *that passes a Winter in* Greenland, *will soon be convinced how much Misery he endures,*

durer, in Comparison of those who dwell in his native Country; so he that knows by Experience the Trouble of a languishing Sickness, or the loss of Liberty, &c. He need not have sent him so far, since the Highlands in *Scotland* would have made him sensible enough of the Difference; and yet I have known *Italians*, who would not change their Habitations which they had in the Northern Parts, with the fruitful Champaign of the *Ferrarese*, and other the Pope's Dominions. From hence he falls abruptly upon the Two different ways of profiting, either by our own, or other Peoples Experience, and recommending the latter, (and certainly no body who has common Sense would do otherwise) returns quietly to his beloved Panegyrick of Liberty: Thus he says: *Want of Liberty is a Disease in any Society, or Body Politick, like want of Health in any particular Person.* This Passage I could not forbear smiling at, when I considered with what Caution our Author had avoided to give the least Limitation of Liberty; tho' it is evident, that a proper Epithete would have taken away all occasion of a sinister Interpretation. Surely he that seems so well versed in the ancient *Greek* and

Symb. CAROLI IV. Imp. Optimum est alienâ insaniâ frui.

Roman History, cannot but remember, that it was the immoderate Liberty of *Greece*, the famous Nursery of his so much admired Philosophers; which was the chief Cause of the Ruin of so flourishing a Country. I speak this upon the Credit of one, who living in a free Commonwealth, and being the greatest Admirer and Maintainer of a lawful Liberty, is an unquestionable Judge in this Case; I mean *Cicero*; his Words are these: *Graecorum tota respublica sedentis concionis temeritate administrabatur. Itaque ut hanc Graeciam, quae jam diu suis consiliis perculsa & afflicta est, omittam; Ea urbs, quae quondam opibus, imperio, gloria floruit, hoc uno malo concidit, libertate immoderata ac licentia concionum.* And that excess of Liberty is the same in the Body Politick, what excess of Blood (tho' else the Treasure of Life) is in a particular Person; which if not timely taken away, causes Inflammations, Exulcerations, Phrensies, and other dangerous Diseases; besides what is befallen the *Strasburghers*, by their too much nicety of Liberty, in refusing an Imperial Garrison; those Civil Commotions and Intestine Wars which happened in our Father's Memory in the Kingdom of *Poland*,

land, have been convincing Instances, and that too much Liberty is frequently the Spring of fatal Diseases in the Government. And when even to this Day we hear of their bloody Debates, where the Cimmetar often is the chief Argument in their Consultations at the Diet; I will scarce believe, but that this may instruct any true thinking *Englishmen*, how much more desirable it is to enjoy an Equitable Portion of Liberty, than greedily to follow the Foodsteps of such as too often transgress the Bounds of the same. *Travel*, says our Author, *seems as necessary to one, who desires to be useful to his Country, as practising upon other Men's Distempers, is to make an able Physician: For, though a Man may too frequently see the Misery of such, as are deprived of Health, without quitting his own Country; yet, (thanks to Providence) he must go out of these Kingdoms, who would know experimentally the Want of publick Liberty.* And since next to Providence our present happy Enjoyment of our legal Liberty, is owing to the Valour and Conduct of His Majesty; Why then all this stir for Liberty? Could not an impartial Account have been given of the Present State of *Denmark*,

work, without a Romantick Preface fill'd up with Chimerical Notions? Such a Piece as this would have been very excuſable ſome Years ago, when we were in apparent Danger of loſing both our Religion and Liberty; And yet at that very time it has been obſerved, that thoſe very Gentlemen who generally make the greateſt Clamour for Liberty, and pretend to be the true Proſelytes of the Ancient *Grecians* and *Romans*, were not the moſt forward of maintaining, and publickly aſſerting it. What concerns the Uſefulneſs of Travelling, it was, I think, never denied among underſtanding Men: and if in repreſenting the ſame, this Gentleman had avoided the nauſeous Praiſes of this, and the undervaluing of other Countries, I am certain, it would have had a much better Influence upon unbyaſs'd Perſons, than can be expected from ſuch hyperbolical Compariſons. But let us obſerve his Words: *And this can be done by no Nation in the World ſo commodiouſly as the* Engliſh; *The Affluence of their Fortune, and Eaſineſs in their private Affairs are evidently greater, than thoſe of other People of* Europe, *&c.* And immediately after; *In other Countries ſome*

Princes and Men of the first Quality may have Purses strong enough to bear the Expence, but few of the middling Sort venture upon it, &c. This is so manifestly contradictory to the Experience of all Travellers, that I cannot sufficiently admire how our Author could pretend to put it upon us. The Panegyrick of his Native Country, might have been interpreted as a pardonable Imitation of his so much beloved Ancient Philosophers; But certainly he, who can affirm this for a Truth, must never have travelled any where, but by a direct Sea-voyage from *England* to *Denmark*: For if he had taken the Way thither through *Holland*, even some of the meanest Capacities in those Countries in his Journey would have informed him to the contrary. I appeal to all in this Case, who have made any Observation in their Travels, especially in *France*, and I am sure I can affirm it upon my own Experience, what a Concourse of Foreigners there used to be some Years before this War in *Paris*, whereof so few were in Comparison of the rest, *English*, that I have often been admiring at it. And I remember very well, that when my Curiosity afterwards did lead me thither a second time,

I made

I made as strict an Enquiry as possibly I could, about the Number of Foreigners in *Paris*, (besides those in the Country) where I was informed by such as in all probability were the most likely to give a true Judgment of this Matter, That they did esteem the Number of Foreigners there, to amount of late Years to betwixt sixteen and twenty Thousand; whereof one half were supposed to be *Germans*. I have often afterwards heard the same confirmed since, by such as came from thence: and, as I have seen my self; the most of those live up to the Port of Gentlemen in a Place, where every thing is very dear to Strangers; we must either conclude, that all those were either *Princes*, or *Men of the first Quality*, or that he had his Supposition, *That few of the midling sort venture at travelling*, from no Authentick Hand. And though this be more conspicuous in *France*, and especially in *Paris*; yet the same may evidently enough also be observed in other Countries, as in *England*, *Italy*, *Holland*, and the most Parts of *Germany*. I have been in the latter of those Countries conversant for a good many Years, and at several times; and as I always took no small delight in the Gravity of the Ger-

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man Tongue, so I was very careful in making the most exact Observations I possibly could; and I must needs acknowledge, that scarce any Nation in the World bestows more Labour, and Money upon the Breeding, and thoroughly qualifying their Male-Children, than the *Germans*. Not to speak now of the first Degrees of Education (because I shall say more of that by and by) they reckon Travelling so necessary and requisite towards the accomplishing of a Gentleman, that those who have not had the Opportunity of seeing other Countries but their own, must be of Eminent Quality, if they are preferred to any Place of Moment.

They used formerly to send their Sons especially into *Italy*, but the Reservedness of the *Italians* being not found so convenient towards the obtaining the Ends of Travelling, the frankness of the *French*, and the Necessity there was, in the most Courts of *Germany*, to be nearer acquainted with the *French* Tongue and Affairs, have drawn the *Germans* more into *France* of late Years, than into any other part of the World; though I verily believe, That if a true Account could be made of Foreigners travelling

velling in *Italy* and *Holland*, nay, even in this Country, (not Merchants) it would be found that near one Half of them are out of that Country. I appeal to such *English* as have been in *Holland*, and especially at *Leiden*, whether this Assertion be not manifestly true there, and those that have duly observed, what great Numbers of Foreigners, pass only from the Northern parts (so much despised by our Author) by the way of *Hamborough* to *Amsterdam*, and from thence over *Brussels* to *Paris*, will, I believe, scarce question what I said before, concerning the Number of Foreigners in *France*. I very well remember, that during the time of some Years, I was at *Leiden*, I have often with great delight observed, how they used to come thither from the most remote Parts, as *Prussia*, *Courland*, *Livonia*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*, (though most of those Countries have their own Universities) and with great Expence endeavour to correct the Remnants of their home-breeding so common and mischievous to most Countries. If our Author had followed their laudable Example, and made his own Observations, instead of writing by hear-say (as he needs must have done) he

he would not so easily have undertaken to assert such a notorious Untruth. As that in other Countries, perhaps Princes and Men of the first Quality, but few of the midling Sort (for want of Means) venture upon it. He that will believe this, must be very little acquainted with the Affluence of the Fortunes of the *Venetians*, *Genuefes* and *Florentines*, and the Dutch are so near us, that no body, but who is purblind may see the Effects of their Wealth. And though is is not to be denied, but that the *German* Nobility, by that Civil War which lasted twenty Years, and was not ended till with the Peace of *Munster*, and by other foreign Wars since, has been miserably afflicted in their Fortunes: Yet the Patricians and Inhabitants of so great a Number of large and populous Cities, as are to be found on the most famous Rivers, the *Rhine*, *Danube*, *Elbe*, *Weser*, and others, have farred much better, and the Damages sustained have been sooner repaired in that Country, than in most others, by the great Plenty there is of every thing. Even the Pomp and Multitude of their Courts, and numerousness of their Armies, for which the *Germans* have been blamed long since, are the constant Nurseries of

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a great many Noble Families, who raiſe themſelves great Eſtates, and put out generally their ready Money in the neighbouring great Cities, from whence the Citizens draw as great Advantage in their Trade; and the Nobility is thereby enabled in time of Want, either to uphold or to reſtore the Grandeur of their Families. I know my ſelf, that about twenty Years ago, a certain Miniſter of State to the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, (who is none of the moſt Potent in thoſe Parts) was eſteemed to leave in real and perſonal Eſtate to the Value of 500000 *l. viz.* to three Sons, who have laid the Foundation to ſo many Rich and Noble Families. Notwithſtanding all this, we may without detracting from other Countries ſay, That the *Engliſh* in general enjoy as great Conveniencies for travelling as any Nation whatſoever. Our Situation in the Middle of the moſt flouriſhing and civilized Nations of *Europe*, and the continual Correſpondence we have by our Trade in thoſe parts, is, (beſides the Affluence of our Fortunes) no ſmall Encouragement to an *Engliſh* Traveller. But the Goodneſs of our Money, which exceeds much the currant Money of a great

great many other Nations, is an Advantage which a great many Foreigners who live remote from us, and are obliged to lose by their Bills from 20 to 30 *per cent.* would be very glad of.

But that we may not travel beyond our reach, let us see what he farther says concerning Travelling. *The Method which has been generally followed by us, in sending young Gentlemen to travel, can hardly answer any of these Ends*, &c. *We send them abroad Children, and bring them home great Boys; and the Returns they make for the Expences laid out by their Parents, are suitable to their Age*, &c. *But the Travelling here recommended is that of Men, who set out so well stock'd with the knowledge of their own Country, as to be able to compare it with others*, &c. Here Here our Author pretends to instruct us how to travel with Profit; but in such general Terms, that I am sure he that does not know it without it, will scarcely ever learn it from those Rules. He would have done very well to have explained what he meant by *Children*, *great Boys*, and *Men*, since the first are the most improper for travelling, and very seldom either in this or other Countries sent abroad; and with the latter,

latter, if over-grown with Home-Education, it proves very often near as ineffectual as the first. But tho' I cannot well guess what he means by his *great Boys*; if he understands those of a middle Age, betwixt Childhood and Manhood, I think they are the most fit to answer in general the Ends of Travelling. The practice of those Countries beyond Sea, where Travelling is most in fashion, has sufficiently confirmed, That the Age of Twenty, or thereabouts, is the most suitable for the first sending abroad of young People, it being the Age when young Men, first well instructed at home in the Principles of such several Professions as they intend to apply themselves to, may well prepared, and yet not too much pre-possessed with the knowledge of the Constitution and Manners of their own Country, gradually improve themselves by Travelling. This Rule I have observed to be generally followed in *Europe*, and especially in *Germany*; where, as they travel most, so they may serve as a Pattern to such as intend to travel with any Benefit. After they have well instructed their Children in publick Schools, (which are to be found in every City there,) in the *Latin* Tongue, and Principles

ciples of Philosophy, till coming to the Age of 18. or 19. Years, they commonly send them to some neighbouring University, as well to be further instructed in several Sciences, and in such Profession as they intend to embrace; as also to begin to improve themselves in bodily Exercises, as Fencing, Dancing, Riding the Great Horse, and in Foreign Languages, especially the *French*, and *Italian* Tongues. Thus prepared, they leave *Germany*, and for the most part making some stay, either in the several Universities of the *United Provinces*, at *Leiden*, *Utrecht*, or *Groningen*; or else in the chiefest Cities, they endeavour to perfect their Knowledge of such several things as they were instructed in before. From hence the common Road used to be to *France*; (some taking a small Turn into *England*,) where having staid a considerable time, sufficient fully to accomplish themselves in the said Tongue, and in such Exercises as are taught there in great Perfection, they either go straitways from thence; or else passing thro' *Italy*, return into *Germany*; and taking in their way the chiefest Courts of the Empire, are then, if they have not wilfully neglected themselves, esteemed duly

duly qualified to make a true Comparison betwixt the Excellencies and Deficiencies of their own and other Countries. *So that all we pretended to,* says the Author, *by the Late Revolution, bought with so great Expences, (yet not too dearly paid for) was to be as we were, and that every one should have his own again; the effecting of which may be called a piece of good Luck; and that is the best can be said of it.* That in our late happy Revolution, Providence seemed to have a particular Share, is what every body that loves his Country, and this Government, does willingly own: But that at the best, it should only be a piece of good Luck, I am to learn yet. As I am well assured that the most sensible Men agree in this Point, That Providence in our Days acts by Human Means, and not by Miracles; That what is commonly called good Luck, is generally the Product of such Counsels and Designs, as are often not so evident to vulgar Eyes: So I cannot sufficiently admire, that this Gentleman, who has taken upon him the Office of a Censor of Foreign, and a Reformer of these Nations, should either be ignorant, or so soon forgetful of the unparalleled Valour, and uncommon Wisdom of his

present Majesty, which was so apparent to all *Europe*, that I think he might have with Justice, and a due Respect, mentioned it here. Truly, if by his Majesty's particular Wisdom, those extraordinary Preparations, as were requisite for such an Enterprise, had not been carried on with that Vigour and Silence, in a Country where it seemed most difficult to be effected, that even the quick-sighted *French* were deceived; if by his indefatigable Care, the number of such Forces as were designed for this Expedition, had not been timely supplied by the *German* Auxiliaries: If at last by his incomparable Valour and Constancy, he had not surmounted the very Obstacles of a far advanced Season, contrary Winds, and Tempests, which would have with-held any Body but Him: I believe we would before now have been in despair of *good Luck* in that kind; and our Gentleman would have had no great Encouragement for such a Preface. And it is Riddle to me, since *every body has his own again*, and enjoys it under the Legal Government of a Wise and Brave King, with the Assistance of the great Council of the Nation, why some among us should be so busie to

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vent their State-reforming Speculations, except they labour on purpose to entail upon us that Sarcasm which our Author mentions, of the most inconstant Nation in the World. These are his Words: *But must frequent Blood-letting be indispensibly necessary to preserve our Constitution? Is it not possible for us to render vain and untrue, that Sarcasm of Foreigners, who object to us, That our* English *Kings have either too much Power, or too little, and that therefore we must expect no settled or lasting Peace? Shall we for ever retain the ill Character they give us, of the most mutable and inconstant Nation of the World, which however we do not deserve, no more than* England *does that of* Regnum Diabolorum, *so common in unconsidering Foreigners Mouths. Methinks a Method to preserve our Commonwealth in its legal State of Freedom, without the necessity of a Civil War once or twice every Age, were a benefit worth searching for, tho we went to the furthest Corners of the World in quest of it.* No Question that such a Method would not only be worth searching for, but also the most desireable thing in the World. But what Method may be the most proper to effect it is the Difficulty. This I am

ſure, the Methods which ſome of our Tavern or Coffee-houſe Politicians have taken of late, will not anſwer the End of ſuch a Settlement. As I frequently converſe among Foreigners, ſo it has often vexed me to the Soul, to hear what Judgment they will make of our Tranſactions here; not but that I often have found it too true: yet it could not but grieve me, that the whole Nation ſhould bear the blame of a certain Gang of People among us, who being infected with the Vanity of their own Conceits, (like to thoſe afflicted with the Yellow Jaundice, to whom Objects are repreſented under the ſame Colour as their Eyes are infected withal) ſpread their corrupted Opinions abroad, to the great Diſhonour and Detriment of the whole Nation. The Character of *Regnum Diabolorum* I have very ſeldom heard, and never, except from ſuch as were very unconſidering indeed; but as for that of *inconſtant and moſt mutable*, I muſt confeſs, it is common among Foreigners, even of the beſt Sence. And for the Love of God, what milder Conſtruction can any Body make of the Behaviour of ſuch, as, pretending to be the Champions of our Government, revive (in their Pamphlets)

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the almost forgotten Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, on purpose to renew at the same time those Jealousies, which within these few Years had brought this Nation to the very Brink of Destruction. How can we expect, but that not only Foreigners, but also all understanding Men among us, should look upon such as worse than *inconstant, and mutable*, who can so soon forget the past Dangers, and neglect their present Happiness?

Lucius Æmilius, the Roman Consul, could not forbear in a publick Speech which he made to the *Romans*, when going to the *Macedonian* War against *Perseus*, to reproach them with the Liberty they took of leading Armies into the Field, and censuring the Actions of their Generals over their Liquors at *Rome*; and what wonder is it, if it seems the most surprizing thing in the World to Foreigners, when they see some petty State-reformers among us in their Pamphlets to take upon them, and challenge an Authority in gross terms, and with bitter Reflections, to censure not only the Actions of Ministers of State, but also of His Majesty himself, and the Parliament also, sometimes, if every thing does not exactly agree with

Liv. *Hist* Rom. *lib.* 44. *c.* 22.

Dialogue between a Whig *and a* Tory.

their conceited Rules of governing; and that at a time when both King, and the grand Council of the Nation are mutually labouring for the Repose, and Happiness of those Kingdoms. I would ask any body of common Sense, if one, who has perhaps from others only learned the Rules of Navigation, and peept a little into the Sea-cards, should pretend to instruct old Commanders of Ships (how to steer with Advantage, how to avoid such hidden Banks as lay scattered up and down near several Coasts, and how to manage a Ship in case of Tempests: would not he deservedly be laught at by every body, and whether those, who should trust a Ship to his Management, would not be esteemed to be out of their wits? Yet these Chamber-Politicians find their Admirers here, and are vain enough to imagine, that they could manage the Helm of our Government better than those to whom the same by our Laws is committed, and have given sufficient proof both of their Fidelity and Ability. And here I cannot forbear to insert what is related of that great General of the *Carthaginians Hannibal*, because it seems to agree in most of its Circumstances with what I have said before.

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Hannibal in the time of his Baniſhment from *Carthage*, came to *Epheſus*, where at that time was a Famous Philoſopher *Phormio*, much admired, eſpecially by the *Epheſians*. Among other diverſions wherewith they entertained *Hannibal*, they would by all means invite him to hear their ſo much beloved Philoſopher. *Hannibal* at laſt over-perſwaded by the *Epheſians*, went to be entertained with his Diſcourſe, where the Philoſopher with abundance of Rhetorick, begun to make a long and tedious Sermon of Military Affairs, and the Duty of a General, to the great content of the *Epheſians*. The Oration at laſt being ended, *Hannibal* was asked by them, what he thought of their Philoſopher, to whom he replied very freely, that he had in his Life-time ſeen a great many old Dottrels, but had never met with one that was ſo raving-mad as this old Fellow; which Anſwer coming from ſo great a Man, it's ſaid, put them a little out of Countenance, but not out of conceit of their Doctor. But to return to our Author; who, having attributed our not travelling of late Years to the management of the two laſt Reigns, ſays further thus: *'Tis not very long ago, ſince nothing was more generally be-*

believed (even by Men of the best Sense) than that the Power of England *was so unquestionably established at Sea, that no force could possibly shake it. That the* English *Valour and Manner of fighting was so far beyond all others, that nothing was more desirable, than a* French *War. Should any one have been so regardless of his Reputation, as at that time to have represented the* French *an over-match for the united Forces of* England, *and* Holland, *or have said, that we should live to see our selves insulted on our own Coasts, and our Trades endangered by them; That we should be in apprehension every Year of an Invasion, and* French *Conquest: Such a venturesome Man must have expected to have pass'd for a very Travellour, or at least for an ill-natur'd or unthinking Person, who little considered what the irresistible Force of an* English *Arm was; but our late Experience has reclaimed us from these Mistakes.* It were to be wish'd, that our late Experience, though never so dearly bought, had quite rooted out so vulgar an Errour among us, which had almost proved fatal to these Kingdoms. But the ignorance of foreign Affairs, the fondness of our own irresistible Strength, and the want of duly comparing the same with that of

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our Enemies, seems not by late Experience it self quite extinguish'd among some, who fancy themselves no small Politicians. How many are to be found to this Day, who vainly boast, that we are not so near concerned in this War, as the rest of the Allies; that the Sea is a sufficient Bulwark against any Attempts from *France* upon us; nay that upon all occasions we are able alone to beat the *French* by Sea and Land, without the Assistance of our Allies. This vain Belief of our own Strength, was the Trap which the *French* twenty Years ago, when first they began to bid fair for the universal Monarchy, knew how to make good use of, to catch us withall at their own time. I remember very well, that coming some time before the Peace at *Nimuegen*, out of *France*; and having had an opportunity to pass along the *Rhine*, and afterwards through *Flanders*, where the Seat of the War then lay: I at my Return hither, would often relate to my Friends what I thought, and had as an Eye witness, observed concerning the Strength of *France*; who, (tho' else no Favourers of the Court at that time) were so far from making any reflection upon that matter, that they rather

ther look'd upon it as a false Notion, and the vain Effect of Travelling; so deeply had this flattering Fancy taken root among the Generality of our Nation here. At those times it must be confess'd, this Opinion might be perhaps excusable, but I cannot see, under what Colour some, who have seen so formidable a *French* Fleet a few Years ago in our Chanel, and the Armies of *France* out number us almost every where last Year, can pretend to scatter their Pamphlets at this time, full of vain Suppositions of this Nature. But we must return to our Author, who by the Example of the Ecclesiasticks, encourages us to Travelling in these words. *The Jesuits have brought several Maxims, as well as Summs of Money from as far off as* China, *or* Japan, *thereby improving their Knowledge, &c. These Men, (whose firm Adherence to the most exquisite Tyranny is manifest, by their indefatigable Endeavours, in behalf of the* French *King's Interests, as formerly of the House of* Austria, *whilst it was in its Height) have by these Arts ingrossed to themselves, the Education of the Youth, in all Popish Countries. The* Lutheran *Priests (who have an entire Dependance on their Kings and Primes) are entrusted*

with

with the like, in those Countries, which observe the Confession of Ausburg. They also send abroad some of their hopefullest young Students, several of which may be met with at Oxford, Cambridge and Paris: The use they make of Travel, being not only to improve their Knowledge in Sciences, but to learn it Methods to please their Sovereign, at the Expence of the Peoples Liberties, &c. And a little further: But the same Travel will afford the best Antidote against this Poyson, and teach a Gentleman, who makes right use of it, by what Sept slavery has within these last 200 Years crept upon Europe; most of the Protestant, as well as Popish Countries, having in a manner quite lost the pretious Jewel, Liberty. This cannot be attributed to any more probable Cause, than the enslaving the Spirits of the People, as a Preparative to that of their Bodies. For since these Princes think it their Interest, that Subjects should obey without Reserve, and all Priests who depend upon the Prince, are, for their own sakes, obliged to promote what he esteems his own Interest, 'tis plain, the Education of Youth, on which is laid the very Foundation Stone of publick Liberty, has been of late Years committed to the sole management of such as make it their

their business to undermine it; and must needs do so, unless they will be false to their Fortunes, and make the Character of Priest give place to that of true Patriot, &c. Indeed they do not forget to recommend to them frequently, what they call the Queen of all Vertues, viz. *Submission to Superiors, and an entire blind Obedience to Authority, without instructing them in the due measures of it; rather teaching them, that 'tis without all Bounds.* And in the Conclusion of the Treatise he hath these Words, which we will insert here, because they are of the same Stamp. *It has been a great Mistake among us, That the Popish Religion is the only one of all the Christian Sects, proper to introduce and establish Slavery in a Nation; in so much that Popery and Slavery have been thought inseparable. Not to derogate from the Merit of the* Roman Catholick *Perswasion, which has been the Darling of so many Monarchs upon that Account, I shall make bold to say, That other Religions, and particularly the* Lutheran, *has succeeded as effectually in this Design as ever Popery did. 'Tis confess'd indeed, That Popery would certainly introduce Slavery; but it is denyed, That the last cannot come in without the assistance of the former, &c. In* Denmark, *as well as other*

p. 258. 260, 261, 262.

ther Protestant Countries in the North, through the entire and sole dependance of the Clergy upon the Prince, without the interfering of the Authority of any Spiritual Superiour, such as that of the Pope among the Romanists, through their Principles and Doctrines, which are those of unlimited Obedience; through the Authority they have with the common People, Slavery seems to be more absolutely established than it is in France, as in effect it is more practised; for that King's Subjects are better treated. And a little after; But in the Countries I have spoken of, all is swallowed up in the King, Temporals and Spirituals, Soul, Body, Estate, and Conscience: The Army and the Priests are Two sure Cards; the Prince that has one of them at his side can hardly fail; but he that has both depending on him, need fear nothing from his own Subjects, let him use them never so ill. Here is a general Charge against the whole Body of the Clergy (except the *Calvinists* and their Proselytes, because the *English* have their Share by and by) concerning the Miseries that have befallen *Europe* these Two hundred Years: These (he says) by the abuse they make of Travelling, corrupt the Youth, of whom they have

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ſole Management; theſe, *by their entire dependance* they have *from their Princes*; and, *by their Doctrine and Principles, ſow the Seeds of Slavery among the People.* Thus runs the Stream of our Author's Eloquence.

But what if we ſhould endeavour to ſtop the Current? What if the Doctrine of the *Roman Catholicks*, and eſpecially the Principles of the Jeſuites, ſhould prove rather dangerous than advantageous to abſolute Monarchy? If we ſhould prove, that *the entire and ſole dependance of the* Lutheran *Prieſts from their Princes*, is a Chimera of his own? That they neither have in general, the *Education of their Youth*; neither that *their Principles and Doctrine are for a blind unlimited Obedience*: That as it is againſt the Intereſt of the Eccleſiaſticks in thoſe Parts where that Religion flouriſhes, to ſuppreſs the Liberties, and undermine the Welfare of the People, ſo it is abſolutely falſe, That *Spirituals and Temporals are ſwallowed up* by their Help or Connivence: And if this Foundation falls, will not his Doctrine ſeem to be built upon a very ſlippery or ſandy Ground? This Gentleman muſt ſurely have been very little acquainted with the Hiſtory

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of the Reformation in those Parts, and the Constitutions of the Empire; as also how often the Protestant Religion there, together with the Government, hath been asserted by Arms against the Emperor, and all other Aggressors, with the Approbation of the *Lutherans*, both *Priests* and *Lawyers*. If this had not been convincing enough to our Author, he would have done well to have look'd a little into their and Writings before he undertook to put Books such Falsities upon the world. But since this Gentleman has taken upon him the Authority of a Judge, let us see by what Laws he hath condemned the poor *Lutherans*. And since it is certain that he ought to condemn them by none but their own, we must look a little back into their Monuments, to see how they do agree with our Author's Assertion. It is evident, that at the beginning of the Reformation, *Luther* and his Associates, had all the Reason in the World to be cautious in the Doctrine of Obedience, as well to avoid the Slanders and Reproaches of the *Roman Catholicks*; but especially not to open a Gate to the Licentiousness of some, who they foresaw would take an opportunity to abolish, together with their Religion, the very Con-

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ſtitution and Order of Government. And the ſeveral Sects of *Fanatiks*, but more eſpecially that cruel Rebellion in *Germany*, (commonly called, *The Peaſants War*) were evident Proofs, that their ſore-ſight had not been ill grounded. But let us but caſt but one Eye upon ſome of their Writings, and we may eaſily ſee, that they ſavour not ſo much of *blind and unlimited Obedience*, as our Author would make us believe. And to begin with the Sentiments of thoſe very Divines who lived partly at the ſame time, partly ſucceeded in the ſame place where *Luther* had begun the Reformation, and ever ſince have been very ſtrictly adhering to his Doctrine. The Councils of the Divines at *Wirtemberg*, from the time of the Reformation, till the Year 1664. (when they were reprinted) and dedicated to the preſent King of *Denmark*'s Father, after that Crown was become Hereditary,) and alſo to the then Electoral Prince of *Saxony*, will doubtleſs be accepted of by all unbyaſs'd Perſons, as a Rule whereby to judge of the Limits the *Lutherans* have ſet to Obedience. I have therefore thought convenient to tranſlate ſome Paſſages relating to this Point, out of the *High German* Tongue, and to inſert

Concilia Theologica Wittenbergica Francofurt ad Mœnum.

ſert them as a Pattern of the *Lutherans* Doctrine of Obedience.

" Upon a Queſtion put, Whether Ma-
" giſtrates are obliged to defend them-
" ſelves and their Subjects againſt an
" unlawful Force, againſt Princes of an
" equal Degree, and againſt the Empe-
" rour, eſpecially in point of Religion;
" *Martin Luther*, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Martin* Pag. 9.
" *Bucer*, and *Philip Melanchon*, with
" joint Conſent, did anſwer: That it
" was an unqueſtionable Truth, which
" ought to be conſeſs'd at the laſt Mi-
" nute, even till Death; that it is not
" only permitted, but alſo truly and
" ſtrictly commanded, that all in Au-
" thority owe to God Almighty this
" Service, to repel all Violence from
" themſelves, and defend their Subjects
" againſt ſuch, as either intended to im-
" poſe Idolatry, or a falſe Religion upon
" them, or pretended to exerciſe an ille-
" gal Power over them. And, as the
" Goſpel doth confirm (ſay they) the
" Authority of Magiſtrates; ſo it does
" no leſs confirm the Laws of Nature,
" and Conſtitutions of Governments.
" There is no queſtion, every Father is
" obliged to the utmoſt of his Power to
" preſerve his Wife, and Children from

" publick Murther, and there is no difference betwixt a common Murtherer " and the Emperour, if he, out of the " way of his Office, notoriously exercises an illegal Power; because open " violence takes away all obligation betwixt the Subject, and the superiour " Magistrate, *jure naturæ*.

" So it is the same case if a Superiour " Magistrate forces his Subjects to Blasphemy, and Idolatry: so did *Constantine* wage War with *Licinius*, because " he would not desist from his Tyranny, " though he exercised the same in his " own Territories. All this, as we have " said, is without question just, and according to the Rules of Christianity, " which we ought to profess at all times " of Danger, and Death it self. Yet is " this not to be understood, but in the " defensive Part.

" And immediately after, in the Considerations and Instructions concerning what resistance is permitted; *Martin Luther*, *Justus Jonas*, *John Bugenhagen*, *Nicolas Ambsdorff*, and *Philip Melancthon*, say thus: Concerning this " Article, there have been frequent and " hard Disputes among us, but this day " we are agreed: That, the Gospel be-

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" ing a Doctrine of the Eternal Spiritual
" Kingdom which is in the Heart, does
" not reject the outward Form of Go-
" vernment, but rather confirms, and
" praises the ſame: From whence does
" follow, That the Goſpel does not for-
" bid any natural and juſt Defence, ſuch
" as is ſuitable either to the Laws of
" Nature, or Conſtitutions of a Govern-
" ment, *&c.* From whence it is evident,
" that every Magiſtrate is obliged to
" defend his Subjects againſt others of
" the ſame Degree, or any private Per-
" ſon. But here ariſes another queſtion,
" *Viz.* What is the Duty of a Prince a-
" gainſt his Superiour Lord, as the Em-
" perour, in ſuch a Caſe? To which we
" give the ſame Anſwer: Becauſe the
" Goſpel confirms Temporal Govern-
" ments; therefore every Prince ought
" to behave himſelf towards his Superi-
" our Lord, or the Emperour, according
" to the natural Right, and temporal
" Conſtitutions of the Government. If
" the Emperour is not a proper Judge,
" and yet will, as *pendente appellatione*,
" undertake to puniſh; ſuch his violent
" Attempt is, *injuria notoria*. Now is by
" a natural Conſtitution of Governments,
" Self-defence, and Reſiſtance againſt

" *injuriam notoriam* is allowable. Where-
" fore if the Emperor ſhould act violently,
" *pendente appellatione*, concerning Mat-
" ters of Religion, or the Peace promiſed;
" he is to be eſteemed as a private Perſon,
" and the *injuria* undertaken againſt
" the Right of the Appeal, and the pro-
" miſed Peace, is a publick and *notoria in-*
" *juria*. But what if the Appeal is paſs'd
" the Council? What if Judgment is
" given according to the imperial Laws,
" and we are caſt? Can we then with a
" ſafe Conſcience openly reſiſt our Su-
" preme Lord? Anſwer, After we have
" in a decent, and Chriſtian like manner
" declared, that we are willing this Mat-
" ter ſhould be examined and adjuſted,
" and have clearly proved the Foundati-
" ons upon which we have built our
" Doctrine; and yet the Council goes
" on in its illegal way of proceeding,
" contrary to the very Foundation of na-
" tural Equity, and the Ordinances ſet
" down in the Scripture, *viz.* That not
" the contrary Side, but the whole Chri-
" ſtian Church is the ſole Judge, all the
" Proceedings are void; and as it is
" not to be eſteemed a Council, ſo the
" Appeal remains in its due Force. And
" whatſoever is violently undertaken,

" by

" by virtue of ſuch Proceedings, is in " truth a publick Violence, and *notoria* " *injuria*. And ſuppoſe, the Pope ſhould " ſeem not to be ſo violent in his Pro- " ceedings, yet by virtue of his Senten- " ces, endeavour to eſtabliſh Idolatry, " and commit publick Injuries; we be- " lieve that it is the Prince's Right to " oppoſe, and defend themſelves againſt " the ſame.

And to clear this point the better, it will, I think, not be amiſs to inſert here alſo the Anſwer, which was given by *Martin Luther*, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Philip Melanchthon*, *George Spalatin*, and other Divines, to the Inſtructions of the Lawyers at *Wittenbergh*, concerning Reſiſtance. Theſe are their words:

" A Paper has been delivered to us, " out of which we ſee, what the Opini- " on is of the Doctors in the Law con- " cerning the queſtion: In what caſes " it is allowable to reſiſt the Magiſtracy. " Now becauſe theſe caſes are determin'd " by the Doctors, and others skill'd in " the Laws; and we certainly are at " this time under ſuch Circumſtances, " as will allow us (as they prove) to " reſiſt our Superiour Powers; and we " having always taught, that temporal

" Rights ſhould remain in their du
" Force and Vigour, we cannot contra-
" dict it out of the Scripture, but tha
" we may defend our ſelves, if it were
" againſt the Emperour's own Perſon,
" or whoever elſe ſhould act under hi
" Authority. And becauſe we are a
" preſent in great danger, which ſeem
" to encreaſe every Day, whereby ma
" happen a ſudden Neceſſity of Reſi-
" ſtance; it will not be amiſs not only
" for our Laws, but alſo for Conſcienc
" ſake, to prepare and arm our ſelves a-
" gainſt any Attempts, which may be
" made upon us; as it ſeems very likely
" that according to all Circumſtance
" the like may eaſily befall us. For
" what we have hitherto taught concer-
" ning not reſiſting the higher Powers;
" we were not ſufficiently inſtructed
" that the Laws did allow it, to whom
" we alſo have always taught, that Obe-
" dience ought to be given.

And when afterwards the Proteſtant Princes clearly apprehended an Invaſion from the *Roman Catholick* Party, and eſpe-cially from the Emperour *Charles* the V *Martin Luther*, *John Bugenhagen*, *Caſpar Cruciger*, *George Major*, and *Philip Me-lanchthon*, did not only approve the Pro-teſtant

teſtant League made at *Smalkald*, but alſo the four laſt, *Anno* 1546, gave concerning the War againſt the Emperour, this following Anſwer:

"When we are once certain that the "Emperour intends to attack the States, "by reaſon of their Religion, there is no "doubt, the States have a Right to de- "fend themſelves, and their Adherents, "*&c.* Such a Defence is the ſame, as if "you defended your ſelf againſt ſo many "Murtherers, whether they be headed by "the Emperour or any body elſe; becauſe "the Act is a publick Tyranny, and *no-* "*toria violentia.* And what we may ex- "pect from the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and "*Burgundians*; the Country of *Juliers*, "can and may ſerve us as an Example. "Wherefore every Inhabitant ought to "venture his Life to reſiſt ſuch Tyranny. "And in this caſe it is alſo true, that the "Prevention it ſelf is juſt and allowable, "provided we are certain, the Emperor "has reſolved to invade the States.

I could have tranſlated a great many more the like Caſes; but as the reſt have all follow'd the Footſteps of thoſe above-named Divines, who were the firſt and chiefeſt in the Work of Reformation; ſo I thought theſe ſufficient to ſhow, how far

different *the Principles and Doctrine of the Lutherans*, were from *a blind and unlimited Obedience*, wherewith our Author so boldly charges them. But that it may not be objected that our Age has perhaps altered the Opinion of the *Lutheran* Divines; I will, (beſides what may be ſeen in the above-mentioned Book) give you the Opinion of one of the moſt famous *Lutheran* Divines of our Age, Dr. *John Gerhard*, in his own Words;

Vid. Georgii Dedekennii Theſaurum conſilior. Theol. & juvid. Edit. per Joh. Erneſt. Gerhard. Jen. 1671.

" Diſtinguunt, *ſays he*, Politici Scripto-
" res (1) inter Principes Majeſtatis integræ
" & poteſtatis abſolutæ, qui abſolutum
" Imperium in ſubditos obtinent, nec te-
" nentur certis quibuſdam pactis, conven-
" tis vel legibus regni fundamentalibus,
" expreſſa promiſſione obſtricti; & inter
" Principes poteſtatis limitatæ, & pactis,
" conventis inter ipſos & proceres regni
" initis circumſcriptæ, cui diſtinctioni
" reſpondet ea, quæ ſtatuitur inter ſub-
" ditos meros & mixtos, (2) inter offen-
" ſionem & defenſionem. Principibus,
" quorum poteſtas eſt limitata, ab illis,
" qui non ſunt mere ſubditi, ab ordini-
" bus ſcilicet regni, reſiſti, ac violentiam
" eorum armata manu repelli poſſe diſ-
" putant,

" putant, id quod ſequentibus confirmari
" poſſet argumentis. 1. A Magiſtratus
" officio: Magiſtratui incumbit, ſubdi-
" tos contra injuſtam oppreſſionem tueri,
" ut ſuperius fuit demonſtratum. Jam
" vero ordines regni in regno electivo,
" ad quod non niſi certis conditionibus
" caput eſt evectum, ſunt loco Magiſtra-
" tus. Non enim ſunt mere ſubditi, ſed
" partem poteſtatis in electione ſummi
" capitis ſibi reſervarunt. 2. A Juris na-
" turalis præſcripto. Defenſio ſui omni
" jure Divino, ſcilicet naturali & civili
" eſt conceſſa; Ergo licet ordinibus
" regni contra injuſtam oppreſſionem ſe
" & ſubditos defendere. 3. Ex mutuæ
" obligationis modo. Ex contractibus
" naſcitur mutua & reciproca obligatio.
" Jam vero inter Principem poteſtatis re-
" ſtrictæ, & Ordines regni electivi talis
" contractus fuit initus, ut Princeps in
" leges regni fundamentales prius jurave-
" rit, antequam Ordines, regni nomine,
" omnium ſubditorum fidem ipſi darent.
" Quod ſi ergo Princeps ab hoc contractu
" diſcedit, Ordines regni ab obedientiæ
" promiſſione ipſo jure abſolvuntur. 4.
" Ex axiomate Theologico, quod Evan-
" gelium non aboleat politias. Jam vero
" ad ſtatuta & jura politica hoc ipſum

" pertinet,

" pertinet, quod Ordines regni vi contra-
" ctus initi, Magiſtratui libere electo, &
" contra promiſſionem & fidem datam
" agenti reſiſtere poſſint. *Vid.* Lutherum
" Tom. 7. Germanic. Jenenſi. Fol. 389.
" 5. A pariratis judicio ſicut principes ab-
" errantes, miniſtri Eccleſiæ verbo poſſunt
" arguere, conſiliarii ſanis conſiliis in viam
" eos revocare: Sic ordines Regni, quibus
" datus eſt à Deo gladius, vi armata ipſi-
" us conatibus poſſunt reſiſtere. 6. Ex
" probatorum exemplorum teſtimonio,
" 2 *Reg.* 11. Jojadas deponit Athaliam,
" 1 *Maccab.* 2. & ſeqq. Judas & reliqui
" Maccabæi reſiſtunt Antiocho. Conſtan-
" tinus oppugnavit Licinium, collegam
" in imperio, Chriſtianæ pe[illegible]ſequentem.
" B. Lutherus in Scripto ad paſtorem
" Tom. 7. Germ. Jnenſi, fol. 386. addit
" duo alia exempla, quod populus re-
" ſtiterit Sauli Jonathanem interficere cu-
" pienti, 1 *Sam.* 14. quodq; Abiam &
" alii principes Iſraelitici reſtiterint Re-
" gi Jojakim Jeremiam ad interneccio-
" nem quærenti. 7. Ex conſequente ab-
" ſurdo. Si ordinibus Regni denegare-
" tur poteſtas contra injuſtam violenti-
" am ſe ac ſuos defendendi, conſequens
" foret, non eſſe diſcrimen inter Princi-
" pes, qui abſolutam & integram obti-
" tinent

" tinent poteſtatem, & inter eos, quo-
" rum poteſtas eſt limitata & circum-
" ſcripta, nec eſſe diſcrimen inter mere
" ſubditos, & eos, qui ſunt in partem po-
" teſtatis recepti, ac quibus cura boni
" publici ex parte adhuc incumbit, pro-
" miſſionem illam quam Princeps ante
" evectionem ad Regnum Ordinibus
" præſtet nullius eſſe momenti, cum
" pro arbitrio ab ea diſcedere, nec ad im-
" pletionem ejuſdem cogi poſſit, electi-
" onem boni principis intuitu boni pub-
" lici ſuſceptam, in extremum Regni
" detrimentum vergere, cum libidini
" ejus nemo poſſit reſiſtere. 8. Ex
" Theologorum & Jurisconſultorum
" ſuffragio. Lutherus, Bugenhagius, Ju-
" ſtus Jonas, Nicolaus Ambſdorfius, Geor-
" gius Spalatinus, Philippus Melanchon,
" Caſparus Cruciger, Georgius Major,
" Juſtus Menius, Chriſtophorus Hoff-
" mannus, & alii Theologi. Juriscon-
" ſulti Wittebergenſes, Anno 31. Baſi-
" lius Monnerus & alii ex Politicis, de-
" fenſionem ſui ordinibus Regni licitam
" & conceſſam eſſe cenſuerunt, ut con-
" ſtat ex Scriptis à Dom. Hortledero
" collectis Tom. 2. lib. 2. de cauſis belli
" Germanici. Sed graviſſimæ hujus quæ-
" ſtionis deciſionem Theologorum &
" Juris-

" Jurisconsultorem Collegiis commit-
" tendam, neq; quidquam temere pro-
" nunciandum esse dicimus.

Thus far concerning a limited Power: And though he seems afterwards not altogether to agree with the Opinion of such as allow Resistance in an absolute Government; yet it is apparent enough, that his Arguments are rather intended against the Jesuitical Principles, and such as makes every body a fit Judge of the Limits of Obedience and Princely Office, than against all manner of necessary self-defence, which, among others, may be seen out of these Words:

" Cum satius sit à subditis hic peccari
" in defectu quam excessu, ac durissima
" quævis ab illis tolerari, quam praetextu
" defensionis principem, de quo emenda-
" tionis spes est de solio dejici, ideo Theo-
" logus rectius fecerit, si populum Christi-
" anum subjugo tyrannico laborantem ad
" pœnitentiam ac patientiam hortetur,
" quam si vim armatam contra vindicis Dei
" flagella adhibendam esse doceat. Non
" existimo negandum, (scribit Brentius in
" comment. in 1 *Sam.* 24.) quin Davi-
" di in regem divinitus electo Saulem ty-
" rannidem exercentem tam opportune
" in spelunca oblatum interficere licue-
" rit;

" rit; ſed David maluit ſequi, quod
" ædificaret, quam quod liceret impune,
" &c. Et paſtea: Quod David perpercit
" Sauli, magna laude dignum eſt, & docet,
" multo honeſtius eſſe & utilius, ut ad
" evitanda offendicula de jure noſtro ali-
" quid remittamus, quam ſummum jus
" proſequamur, &c.

I could not avoid inſerting thoſe Paſſages here, that thereby the Judicious Reader might the better be able to judge of the Doctrine of the *Lutherans* concerning Obedience; and how much the ſame differs from what our Author has laid to their Charge; That *both their Principles and Doctrine are for a blind and unlimited Obedience, without inſtructing their Auditors in the due Meaſures of it: And that they ſend ſome of their hopefulleſt young Students abroad, to learn ſo Methods to flatter their Sovereigns at the Expence of the Peoples Liberty.* It may perhaps be objected, That ſome of the *Lutherans* have tied the Subjects to a much ſtricter ſort of Obedience towards their Sovereigns. But to this may be anſwered, That it is very unjuſt to charge a whole Body with the Opinions of a few; beſides, to thoſe who have peruſed the Writings of the moſt zealous *Luthe-*

ran

ran Champions for Obedience to Sovereigns. It will be evident enough, that even these have put Bounds to the same, and always submitted their Judgment in this Case to the Laws and Constitutions of the Government. I could give a great many Instances of this kind; but not to be too tedious in a matter already sufficiently proved, I will only add a few Passages out of an Author, who living at this Day in the very Resident's place of the King of *Denmark*; and having dedicated his Treatise to that King himself, is generally thought to have strained this point of Obedience as high as ever any *Lutheran* Divine did; from whence it may appear, whether in the North it self, *Spirituals and Temporals, Soul and Body* (as our Author says) *are followed up in their Princes, and the* Lutheran *Priests have their sole and entire dependance from them.* These are his Words in his Dedication to the King.

Hector. Gothofred. Masii Theol. D. & Prof. P. in acad. Hafn. Interesse Principum circa religionem Evangelicam ad sereniss. ac potentiss. Daniæ Regem. Hafniæ 1687.

'Nam ut reliqua taceam, quantis laudibus efferendum illud est, quod cum 'non ita pridem sanctissimis, aequissimisq; 'legibus Jus Daniæ nostræ fundum esse 'volueris, primo loco, velut fundamentum 'juris & felicitatis civium Augustanam 'Confessionem ponas, à qua vel latum

'unguem

'unguem recedere nec parentibus fas ſit,
'nec Imperanti. Facile enim, quæ tua
'eſt prudentia, animadvertis; ita Maje-
'ſtatis tuæ cauſam cum gloria Dei con-
'junctam eſſe, ut, niſi ſalva Religione,
'ſalva atq; tuta eſſe non poſſit. And p.
'66. Quare nec Magiſtratui quidem com-
'petit illud exterius juriſdictionis Eccle-
'ſiaſticæ, ut vocant, exercitium: Exami-
'nare, conſecrare, ordinare futuros Ec-
'cleſiæ miniſtros. Et falſum eſt, per
'Tranſactionem Paſſavienſem vel Pacem
'Religionis, inter Status Romani Impe-
'rii ſancitam, in Magiſtratum Civilem
'tranſlata hæc eſſe, aut transferri potuiſſe,
'ut nonnulli putant. Diſtincta ſunt or-
'dinis Eccleſiaſtici & politici munia, jura,
'officia; & quemadmodum Sacerdotibus
'nihil in politicis, ita & Principibus
'nullum in Spiritualibus jus competit.
'p. 67. Quamvis enim vocare & conſtitu-
'ere Doctores ac Miniſtros Eccleſiæ non
'minus etiam ad ſummos imperantes ſpe-
'ctet, quam ad reliqua Eccleſiæ mem-
'bra, imo potius cum quadam ἐξουσίᾳ ad
'eos pertinere videatur, qui præcipuum Ec-
'cleſiæ membrum conſtituunt ac utriusq;
'tabulæ legis cuſtodes & nutritii audiunt,
'nihilominus tamen nec ſolius Magiſtratus
'eſt vocare Eccleſiæ Miniſtros, excluſis
'reliquis

'reliquis ſtatibus, neque ipſa illa vocatio
'divinæ poteſtati docendi & adminiſtrandi
'Sacramenta, quidquam humani admiſ-
'cet, ut ſuperiorum autoritate ſuffulta
'tantum videri debeat Doctorum Eccle-
'ſiæ Autoritas. And in his Animadverſi-
ons (*a*) he ſays thus: 'De vocatione
'miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ duo extrema ſunt,
'inter quæ medium tenet Orthodoxia
'Lutheranorum, nequid vel ambitioni
'clericali, vel libidini Principum indul-
'geatur, ſed omnia ordine, decenter &
'juxta primitivæ Eccleſiæ ritum proce-
'dant. Cæterum quod jus vocandi Ec-
'cleſiæ miniſtros attinet, diviſum illud
'eſſe inter tres ſtatus, & ad totam Eccle-
'ſiam ſpectare, toties probarunt noſtrates
'Theologi, ut ea opera nunc quidem
'ſupersedere poſſim. Diſceptari etiam
'illud ſolet, anne ſtatus Eccleſiaſticus, aut
'Oeconomicus renunciare juri ſuo poſſit,
'atq; illud tacito quodam conſenſu dele-
'gare Senatui aut Magiſtratui Seculari.
'Cujus quæſtionis negativam partem tu-
'etur B. Hulſemannus. And p. 69. he
gives us the Opinion of the famous *Puffendorf*, in his Book *De habitu Religionis Chriſtianæ ad vitam civilem*; who ſays thus: 'Sed Doctores Eccleſiæ ut
'tales, non ſunt propriè officiales Regis,
'ſed

ſed ſunt ſervi Chriſti ac miniſtri Eccleſiæ, non Civitatis. And p. 73. he goes thus on: 'Male alias apud pontificios audit miniſterium Lutheranorum; eò potiſſimum nomine, quod omnia Jura ſua ac Privilegia divina & humana Magiſtratui politico reſignet, ab ejus nutu, imperio & voluntate totum pendeat, adeo ut nulla ipſi niſi parendi gloria relicta ſit, ſive in doctrina ipſa ſive in legibus quicquam mutari, conſultum imperantibus videatur. In quem finem exprobrare etiam nobis ſolent illud in Germania tritum dicterium: Cujus eſt Regio, illius & eſt Religio; quaſi ex hypotheſi Lutheranæ Religionis integrum ſit Principi de rebus fidei pro lubitu decernere, quidquid pro varia temporum & utilitatis publicæ ratione viſum placitumq; fuerit. Sed calumnia hæc eſt curiæ Romanæ, eoq; atrocior, quod in noſtris principiis, ne quidem ſuſpicionis locum invenit. Scilicet didicere Evangelici æqua lance metiri Principum & Eccleſiæ jura, nec divellere ea, quæ Chriſtus conjuncta eſſe voluit: Date Cæſari, quæ ſunt Cæſaris, & Deo quæ Dei. Quod ſi forte contingat nonnunquam Magiſtratum jure ſuo in præjudicium ordinis Eccleſiaſtici abuti, id non magis doctri-

'næ nostræ imputandum est, quam omnes 'alii abusus, scandala & vitia Protestanti-'um, quæ toto ore atq; pectore detestatu 'Ecclesia nostra. Cæteroquin fore putan-'dum non est, ut illis placeat alienæ servitu-'tis jugum, quia tyrannide cleri in liberta-'tem tam fortiter sese asseruerunt, vel ut 'æquis oculis aspiciant Πατοκαιτηρίαν qui 'Καισαροκαπίαν quondam ferre non potue-'runt. But in his 6. Chap. *p.* 166. he says plainly, That the *Augsburg* Confession is the Foundation of the *Danish* Monarchy. 'Hac occasione non possum satis 'deprædicare Juris Danici sanctimoni-'am, & cum vera religione inti-'mam connexionem, quam vel primum 'caput statim in limine prodit his verbis. 'Kongen haver og eene hoyeste Magt o-'ver ald Clerisiet fra den hoyeste til den 'laveste, 'at beskikke oc anordne ald 'Kirke og Guds Tieniste, Moder, Som-'menkomst og Forsamlinger om Religi-'ons-Sager effter Guds Ordog den Augs-'burgiske Confession, &c. Non potest 'igitur jus Daniæ nostræ nisi cum vera 'religione perennare, & si illam tollas, 'Augusti diadematis gloriam potentiamq; 'imminui necessum est. Pio igitur & 'prudenti consilio factum est, ut Au-'gustana Confessio legum nostrarum 'constitutionem ingrederetur tanquam

'cer-

'certiſſimum medium & valorem legibus 'conciliandi, & legiſlatoris ſummam & 'abſolutam Majeſtatem ſartam tectamq; 'conſervandi. Numæ Pompilii tem'peſtate ancile quoddam de cœlo de'cidiſſe, Romana antiquitas fabulatur, 'unaq; vocem editam omnium poten'tiſſimam: Erit civitas, quamdiu illud 'manſerit. Nec diſſimile reſponſum 'Trojanis de Palladio ex Oraculo Del'phico datum ferunt: Ejus Civitatis 'futurum eſſe exitium; ſi Palladis ſimu'lacrum extra mœnia portaretur; quo 'effectum, ut cives ſumma cura & ſol'licitudine rem tanti momenti cuſto'dirent. Non hic fabulas vel oracula 'memoramus, ſed vocem ſeriam om'niumq; prudentum confeſſione ve'ram repetimus: Erit in Dania, ſumma '& abſoluta Majeſtas, quam diu Lu'rana Religio manſerit.

I am not ignorant that theſe latter words may bear a double Interpretation; yet he that will duly compare the former Paſſages with the laſt, will eaſily find out the Author's meaning to be, That the *Lutheran Prieſts, as Prieſts, have no entire dependance from their Magiſtrates*, but that in *Denmark* the Welfare of the Monarchy is inſeparable from the maintaining of

Augsburgh Confeſſion. And I admire how our Author, during his ſtay in *Denmark*, could be ſo overſeen, as not to enquire more ſtrictly into this Point, before he undertook to aſſert a thing of that nature with ſo much Confidence. As for the *Lutheran Prieſts* in *Germany*, where that Religion chiefly flouriſhes, it is certain, they have in the moſt places, *much leſs dependance from their Princes*; ſince in the moſt Cities and Corporations there the Rights of Patronage are either in the Magiſtrates, or elſe in the Congregation; ſometimes joyntly in the Magiſtrates and Elders of the Pariſhes. In the Country ſome of them perhaps belong to the Nobility, ſome to the Prince; and ſo do ſome Cathedrals; tho' a great many Miniſters in theſe latter are choſen by the Canons; and all their yearly Salaries, Houſes, and other Benefices, are aſcertained to them out of ſuch Revenues or Lands as do properly belong and depend, not from the Prince, but the ſeveral Cathedrals and Pariſh-Churches. Their Perquiſites, which eſpecially in the Cities, commonly amount to more than their Salaries, and in ſome places are very conſiderable, come from Buryings, Baptizing,

tizing, Confeſſions, Prayers in the Churches, and with the ſick at their Houſes, Marrying and New-years-gifts; all which as in thoſe Parts they moſt abſolutely depend on the Peoples Liberality and Inclination, being rather eſtabliſhed by Cuſtom than any Laws, I cannot ſee what Colour our Author could have for his Aſſertion, that, *except they will reſign the Character of Prieſt to that of true Patriot, and be falſe to their Fortunes, they are obliged to aſſiſt their Princes in their Arbitrary way of governing*; it being manifeſt, that their Vocation (generally ſpeaking) and their Subſiſtence as *Prieſts*, depend from the People, rather *than their Princes*; and they having alſo their Conſiſtories where Eccleſiaſtical Affairs are determined according to the Conſtitutions of the ſeveral Countries; and in a great many Places Prelates, as Abbots, Priors, and Deans, who are among the States in their ſeveral Countries, it is evident, that our Author's ſuppoſed *dependance, without the interfering of a Superiour, ſuch as the Pope among the* Romaniſts, *betwixt the* Lutheran *Clergy and their Princes*, is not ſo dangerous either to the Prieſts or People, as our Author would fain perſwade

ſwade us, on purpoſe to lay all the blame upon the Clergy. To effect this the better, he tells us with a ſingular Confidence, That alſo *the ſole Management of the Youth is committed to the care of the* Lutheran *Prieſts in thoſe Countries, which obſerve the Confeſſion of* Augsburgh; tho' moſt certainly nothing is more contrary to the Truth. I will appeal to thoſe who, as well as I, have made an enquiry into this Matter, Whether in the publick Schools of the *Lutherans* they have not found Schoolmaſters of other Profeſſions as well as Divines; and tho' they are not excluded from that Function, whether they ever were preferred before others, as being Profeſſors or Students of Divinity? The Nobility in the Country, and Patritians in the Cities, generally have their Tutors or Domeſtick Preceptors, for the Education of their Children (Boarding-Schools being rarely to be found there;) in the choice of whom they are generally ſo far from preferring Divines before others, that they ſeldom admit of them in that Station. And when their Children come to the Age of Travelling, or going to the Univerſities, it is a general Maxime among them, not to put the

Tuition

Tuition of their young Men into the Hands of Divines, whoſe Profeſſion obliging them to a ſedentary Life, and leaſt of all others being accuſtomed to travel, they do not reckon theſe ſo proper Inſtruments for the perfecting their Sons, and obtaining the full ends of Travelling, as thoſe of other Profeſſions, who more frequently apply themſelves to it in thoſe Parts. I am apt to believe that our Author may be fallen partly into this Miſtake, from the neceſſity and cuſtom which formerly had obtained in *Denmark*, when the Nobility having in their Hands all Places of Profit and Truſt; and their Conſtitution not requiring many Lawyers, Divinity was the only Profeſſion, out of which they were obliged to chooſe perſons for the Education of their Youth. But beſides that Matters are much altered ſince in *Denmark*, as to this Particular, it would have been but prudence to have enquir'd more ſtrictly into this Point, as to the Cuſtoms of other *Lutheran* Countries, before he made it the Foundation Stone of his Doctrine of Slavery.

If this Gentleman would have taken into due Conſideration the Proteſtant League made immediately after the Re-

formation at *Smalkald*; the ensuing War with *Charles* the V. the Transactions at *Passaw*; That long and most cruel War which was for 30 Years together carried on in *Germany*, betwixt the *Protestants* and the *Roman Catholick* Party, and the Peace thereupon concluded at *Munster*, and *Osnabrugge*; besides what not so many Years ago happened in *Hungary*, under the Conduct of the Counts *Serini*, *Nadasti* and *Franquepani*, and is to this Day continued by *Teckely*, (the Heads of which League were chiefly *Lutherans*, and their Pretensions both for *Religion* and *Liberty*) he could not have committed so gross an Error, as to impute an *unlimited blind Obedience both in* their Principles and Practices to the *Lutherans*.

And to clear this Point the better, I cannot but relate some Passages which happened in our Memory, in the Electorate of *Brandenburgh*, betwixt his Electoral Highness, and some *Lutheran* Ministers, out of which it will easily be understood, whether the Northern parts of *Germany* are so much infected with *blind Obedience*, as this Gentleman imagines. The Business happened thus: *Frederick William* the present Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Father, being of the reformed

formed Religion, which they call commonly the *Calvinian*, was for eſtabliſhing an Agreement betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*. There were at that time two Factions among the *Lutherans*; The firſt of ſuch, as were ſtrictly, and with ſome auſterity adhering to the firſt Rules of the Reformation, were called the *Wittenburgh* Faction, or ſometimes *Calovians*, from one Dr. *Calov* in the ſaid Univerſity, Profeſſor of Divinity, who was a fierce and implacable Enemy to the Doctrines of one Dr. *Calixtus*, and others in the Univerſity of *Helmſtadt*, who were for moderating and reconciling the religious differences in *Germany*. The former had for a conſiderable time, both in their Sermons and Writings, been very vehement againſt the *Calviniſts*; the later had dealt with them more mildly, for which reaſon they alſo had undergone the rigid Cenſures of the *Wittenburgh* Divines in the Country of *Brandenburgh*. The *Calixtines* therefore, and *Calviniſts*, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the States of *Brandenburgh* were very deſirous to bring the former to a more pliable Temper; and the Elector being willing to eſtabliſh a better Underſtanding, took an opportunity by his ſeveral Proclamations

to

to order, that both Parties ſhould abſtain from injurious Words: Such as *Zwinglians*, *Sacramentarians*, *Ubiquitiſts*, *Marcionites*, and the like; That they ſhould not put any Conſequences deduced out of their ſeveral Hypotheſes upon one another, which either Party did deny; And thirdly, that all Prieſts ſhould be obliged to baptize the Children of ſuch Parents, as were averſe to the Exorciſm, (which the moſt *Lutherans*, together with the Sign of the Croſs, uſe in the Baptiſm) without the ſame. And finding ſome of the *Lutherans* in no ways complying with his Mandates; he ordered certain Formulars to be ſubſcribed by them, and commanded his conſiſtorial Judges, to ſee that every thing were duly performed according to his Mandates. It would be too long to diſpute here concerning the Merit of the Cauſe upon either Side; it will be ſufficient to ſhew, how the *Lutherans* behav'd themſelves in this Caſe, which I think will fully clear them as to the Point of *blind Obedience*. They were then ſo far from obeying the Electoral Proclamations, and ſubſcribing the Formulars, that they on the contrary, together with ſuch of their Auditors as adhered to them, did by ſeveral Peti-

Formal Exorciſm. *Leave this Child, thou unclean Spirit, and give place to the Holy Ghoſt!*

Petitions under the Name of the true and pure *Lutheran* Churches, and their Confeſſors, tell the Elector, *That he had quite ſurrendred himſelf like a Priſoner to his Privy Counſellors, who pretended to a religious Peace, by ſuppreſſing that of* Oſnabrugge, *and quite aboliſhing their native Conſtitutions and Agreements. And whenever they objected to the Courtiers, that their proceedings were againſt the Rights of Patronage, and Contracts; the common Anſwer was, that theſe were out of date; Becauſe the Eighth Commandment was not to be found in the States Catechiſm, but in lieu of the ſame, was introduced, that Principle of* Machiavell, Principi licet facere, quidquid lubet. *That at the Peace made at* Oſnabrugge *it was agreed, that no body ſhould be permitted to alter the free Exerciſe of Religion, or the Laws and Conſtitutions that were eſtabliſhed. Neither that under pretext of Rights of Patronage, Epiſcopal or Territorial or any other Pretence, Miniſters ſhould be forced upon the Subjects of another Religion, or any thing* 1674. 2. Supplicat.

Fas non eſt vel publicum religionis exercitium, leges, aut conſtitutiones Eccleſiaſticas hactenus ibi receptas, templa, ſcholas, hoſpitalia aut eo pertinentes reditus, penſione, ſtipendia prioribus adimere, ſuorumque Sacrorum hominibus applicare, vel juris territorialis Epiſcopalis, patronatus, aliove quocunque prætextu ſubditis miniſtros alterius confeſſionis obtrudere, ullumve aliud impedimentum aut præjudicium directe, vel indirecte alterius ſacris afferre. Pac. Oſnabrug. Inſtrument. §. 7.

to be either directly or indirectly done, which might prove prejudicial to another Religion. They say further: *That these Rules were taken out of the States Catechism, to perswade Magistrates, that as in Temporal, so in Ecclesiastical Affairs, they have alone absolute Power to determine and punish, which is an unheard of Doctrine in both Religions. That some Examples out of the Old Testament and Christian Emperors ill applied, the Prerogative of Magistrates and Rights of Patronages, were political Pretences, from whence it might be evident, that the former Proclamations were nothing else than the Tokens of* Καιροσκοπια, *or the political Antichrist; since in setting Magistrates above all what belongs to God,* viz. *his Word, Sacraments, Denominations, Church-Ceremonies, and Ministers; the Design was to invade the Throne of Christ.* And in another Petition they object to the Elector a Coin which was coined 1548, by *George* Duke of *Anhalt*, which had on one Side this Inscription: *Plus odi Conciliatores istos, quam apertos Religionis Hostes.* And further say: *That the Elector's Proclamations were against the Peace of the Empire, Constitutions of the Land, and Contracts made* Anno 1653, *where it was concluded, that*

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no Proclamations should be issued forth repugnant to that Contract, or contrary to both Religions. I could have inserted more of this kind, but I will only add so much, that these Petitions having been delivered to the Elector, after he had upon the Request of the Representatives of the Prelates, Earls, Nobility and Cities, abrogated the Formular proposed to the Clergy before, and explained himself very favourably as to the point of arguing in their Sermons, may serve as lively Instances, that the *Lutheran* Priests, though they represent Obedience as the *Queen of all Vertues*, endowed rather with Modesty, than armed with Dagger and Poyson, yet they have neither blinded, neither tongue-tied her. The Disturbances arisen some time ago, & continuing to this Day in a * Northern *Lutheran* Commonwealth, betwixt two Clergymen, who have drawn not only the rest of the Clergy, but also all the Inhabitants (notwithstanding the Senates Authority and Endeavours to the contrary) into two Parties, are so notorious, that those alone sufficiently contradict our Author's Assertion concerning their *blind Obedience*. But it is time to leave the *Lutherans*, and to see why the *Roman Catholick*

* *Hamburgh.*

Catholick Religion has been the *darling of Princes* upon the Account of blind Obedience, according to this Gentleman's Opinion. Truly those that will a little consider, that pernicious Doctrine of the *Roman Catholicks*, of deposing, nay even murthering of Princes; the many Instances of this kind, which have verified their Principles in this point; the Bulls of *Bonifacius* VIII, *Innocent* III, *Clement* V, and other Popes, who have asserted the same as a legal Power, will, I believe, easily be convinced that an Arbitrary Prince, who understands his own Interest, has but little reason to make those *his darlings*, who think it not only lawful, but also meritorious to cut his Throat, when not submitting himself to their Rules. And how can any Prince who affects an Arbitrary Power, suppose himself absolute Master of his Subjects, as long as there are in his Dominions those, and that in great Numbers, who being potent both by their vast Possessions, and the Influence they have over the rest, acknowledge another Head, besides himself, and profess openly that both in Spirituals and Temporals they owe more Obedience to the Pope than the Prince? It would be superva-

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cuous to prove this, it being, beſides the Bulls of *Gregory* IX, *Innocent* IV, *Gregory* VII, and a great many others, ſo abundantly certified by Hiſtories, and their practices in all Ages; that no body who has any inſight in Hiſtory, can be ignorant of it. I know ſome will object to this, that theſe have been the Practices in former Ages among the *Roman Catholicks*, when Simplicity was more predominant; but that ſince the Reformation the Jeſuits have known ſo to mitigate this point, as that nothing is to be fear'd from thence, which ſeems to be alſo our Author's Opinion; when he ſays, that the *firm Adherency* to *Tyranny is* manifeſt in the Jeſuits, by their *adhering* now *to the French intereſt, as they did* formerly to the *Houſe of Auſtria.*' That the Jeſuits who are the Supporters of the above-mentioned Doctrine ſo deſtructive to all Governments, ſhould have in the leaſt receded from the ſame, is as vain to imagine, as that the ſame do now leſs adhere to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than formerly. It is not to be denied, ſome of that Gang have had cunning enough to inſinuate themſelves into the moſt ſecret Affairs of the *French* King; but what is that towards their having ſhaken off

their

off their old Principles of *Self-Interest*, and maintaining the Pope's Prerogative; or their adhering now more to *France* than the House of *Austria*? Their seeming Compliance, is by all understanding People in *France* it self, look'd upon as an effect of their Fear, rather than good Inclination towards that Kingdom: For they having seen, that the *French* Kings have maintained their Authority with a high Hand against the Pope, and the restless Endeavors of their Fraternity, they have of late according to their wonted Custom, changed their Tune for fear of losing all. That famous Inscription of *Lewis* XII, that notable Advice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, of setting up a Patriarch in *France*, and the vigorous Opposition *Innocent* XI. found in the present *French* King against all his Attempts, has frightned these Fathers into a Complacency, which nothing but the Consideration of their own Interest could have extorted from them; to pursue which they will at any time adhere, either to *France*, or to the House of *Austria*, to *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*. And this may be evident enough to any body who will recollect their Behaviour in our Age as well

Perdam Babylonis nomen.

well as the former. Not to speak of the Villanies of *Castel*, *Clement*, and *Ravillack*, who are so abominable, that they ought not to be mentioned among the Race of Mankind, and are lively Instances, how far the *Roman Catholicks* have laid aside their ancient King-killing Principle. The Jesuite, *Santarel*, in his Book which was burnt by the Hangman in *France*, has shewn sufficiently, That they have not changed much their former Opinion as to the Pope's Prerogative over Magistrates. And it is remarkable what is related of the Jesuites in *France*; who being then asked, What their Opinion was of this Book? whether they would oppose it? or whether they did intend to conform themselves according to the Approbation of the same by their General at *Rome*? after a great many Tergiversations, being put to give a Categorical Answer, they could not forbear saying, *If they were at* Rome, *they should be of their General's Opinion.* And the threatning Letter from *Innocent* XI. to *Lewis* XIV. as that also to the Clergy, evidences sufficiently, that it is rather want of Power than good Will, when they seem not to act according to their former ut-

Grammond Hist. Gal. lib. xv.

An. 1679.

most Severity. That the Jesuites follow no other Dictates but such as agree with their own Interest, (whether in a Free or Arbitrary Government) so many of the *Roman Catholicks* have testified themselves, that I wonder how any body can fansie them adhering to any. Was it not justly objected to Father *Parsons* and *Campian* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, from the other *Roman Catholicks*, that the several Disturbances, and especially the Disputes about frequenting the *English* Churches were raised on purpose by them only for the Benefit of their Society, and that the rest had been considerable Losers by it? Were not, by Father *Parson*'s Means, Seminaries for *English* Jesuites erected as well in *France* as *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Netherlands*? Did he not treat with the *Spaniards*, *French*, Queen of *Scots*, the Pope, Duke of *Guise*, Prince *Farnese*, and the Earl of *Derby*, about the Crown of *England*? so indifferent was he in the Point, that it matter'd him not who had it, provided the Jesuites might obtain their Ends. Has not a certain moderate *Roman Catholick*, not many Years ago, attributed the bloody Wars in *Ireland*, and a great many other mischievous Devices against this

Important Considerations written by the Secular Priests. p. 40.

Veritumnus Romanus.

Jesuites Reasons unreasonable.

Letters *Card. d'Ossat. p.* 2. *lib.* 7. 8. *n.* 162.

Letter of Father *Peter Walsh* of the Order of St. *Francis* 1674.

this Government, to the Excommunications of *John Baptist Rinuccini*, the Pope's Nuncio, then in *Ireland*, and to the great Aversion the Jesuits and their Adherents always have shewed against the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy*? And have we not in our Memory seen the Jesuites have an equal Interest and Adherency both to the *House of Austria* and *France*, by raising Persecutions in *Hungary* and *France* against the Protestants? And was not the Emperour, by their Advices, brought to the very Brink of Ruin? and do the most judicious presage any good to the *French King*, from having followed their Methods? So that I am apt to believe, the most sensible Princes, though never so Arbitrary, will not be so fond of them, as to make them their *Darlings upon that score*. And if some Commonwealths have been cautious enough to clip a little their Wings in their Dominions; yet as the great decay of that once flourishing City and Commonwealth of *Cologne* on the *Rhine*, caused by their Devices, is an instance, that where ever they get footing, it will be prejudicial to the Government: So the *Switzers* can testifie, that it is next to an impossibility to keep them even out of *Commonwealths*.

For though *Switzerland* has shewed as little Inclination to them as any Government whatsoever; yet they having possessed themselves of one of the best places in *Fribergh*, they have a most noble Colledge and Chapel there. And though the Canton of *Soloturn* would not admit of them till within these few years, and that not but under hard Conditions; yet out of 1000 Livres Revenue *per Annum* for ten of them, they are grown so rich that they are erecting a most magnificent Church and College, the building whereof is reckoned, will amount to 50000 *l.* Sterl. which may convince all unbyass'd Persons, that it is not *any form of Government* they adhere to, but that they will flatter either *Arbitrary Power or Licentiousness*, according as it turns best to their own Account. But we must go further and hear what our Author has to say concerning the *English* Clergy. *I do not hereby mean*, says he, *to reflect on the Order, which generally has the government of our Youth; we have had the experience of many among them, who have given proof of a freer Education and Learning: And without question the chief posts of the Gown of both kinds were never better filled than*

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at present. I only lament the ill contrivance of their Constitution; for while Interest draws one way, and Honesty another, when a Man may make his Fortune by forgetting his Duty to his Country, but shall always stick at mark while he serves it; 'tis scarcely to be hoped Men should hold out against such temptations, unless they be generally gifted with more Honesty than the generality of Mankind are. And since they continue still upon the same bottom, it must be expected the same, or other as mischievous Doctrines will be broached; whereas if they were once set upon the same foot, the Philosophers of old were, if honesty and the duty to their Country, were made their private interest, and the way to thrive, we should soon see them shift hands, and the Spirit of those Philosophers revive in them again. The Constitution of our Universities as to Learning, seems as unfortunately regulated, as it is to Politicks, &c. It seems as ridiculous to take patterns for the gentile Learning of this Age, from the old fashioned Learning of the Times, wherein the University-Statutes were compiled, as it would be for one, who would appear well dress'd at Court, to make his Cloaths after the Mode in Henry *the* VIII's *Days*, &c.

Here is an *Harangue* upon the *English* Clergy, which if you explain, it is nothing else to say, but according to their Institution, if they will be honest they cannot thrive; and that therefore no good is to be expected from them. I must confess, that among all Books that ever I saw, I never met with one, which asserted more with an excessive Confidence, and proved less. If this Gentleman's Resolution was to take upon him the Office of a Church, and State-Reformer General, it would have been but suitable to so great a Character, to have been a little more particular, as well in this as other points, and to have shewed us the true Faults of such Constitutions, with their proper Remedies; that from thence we might have judged, whether by his Suppositions, those Rules could be introduced into the Government, which the best Head-pieces hitherto have not been able to find out. But to tell us a random Story of *Interest drawing one, and Honesty another way*, without explaining the point, is nothing else than *audaces Ineptire* (not to speak worse) and can scarce be taken by any sensible Man to have been done with a true Intention of serving the Publick; Since it is certain

tain that by such vain Rhetorick, neither the true Nature of the Matter will be understood, nor proper Remedies be found out. Neither can any one conceive what he means by saying, *if Honesty and the Duty to their Country were made their private Interest*, since it is apparent enough to all judicious Persons in that kind, that the Constitutions of the Clergy, is in all well-constituted Governments, so link'd with that of the Foundation of the whole, and in this Kingdom so inseparately annexed to our true and fundamental form of Government, that without great Danger of Ruin, both Interests cannot be separated; We have learned this Truth by woful Experience, within some of our Memory, that as to us, it needs no further Proof. I remember, that in my Travels I did once in a certain Commonwealth see the following Inscription upon a Door of a great Church, *Felix Respublica, ubi Moses & Aaron manent Fratres*; by which as they seem'd to admire the Wisdom of the great Legislator, who put the Spiritual and Temporal Government of the *Jews*, into the Hands of two Brothers; so they intimated that from the *Union and Concord* of both, depended in a great Mea- *Hamborough.*

ſure, the Felicity of the *Commonwealth*. Surely, our Author, who is altogether for Antiquity, has forgot, that in the moſt Ancient, and ſo wiſely regulated Government of the *Egyptians*, the Prieſts (who alſo were Philoſophers) had the chief Rank of eſteem together with the Soldiers, both by the Prince and People. That beſides others, his beloved *Greeks* and *Romans* followed the ſame Methods. The *Athenians* admitted their Prieſts, whom they called *Mantèis*, to all their publick Counſels. The *Lacedemonians* gave to their Kings as a conſtant Aſſiſtant and Counſellour, an *Augur*; and among their Elders, (who were the Counſellours of the State) they had likewiſe placed an *Augur*. In what reſpect the Colledge of *Augurs* were at *Rome*, and how it was decreed in the Senate, that conſtantly ſix of the principal Citizens Children ſhould be ſent into *Hetruria*, that by learning that Sort of Divinity it might not be communicated to the common People, is ſo notorious, that few who have read Hiſtories, are ignorant of it. I have not related theſe latter, with an Intention to put the Heathens religious Contrivances in an equal Ballance with the *Jews*, and *Chriſtians* Church-

Diod. l. 1. ſect. 2.

Cic. l. 1. Divinat.

Church-Government; but only to ſhew that even the wiſer ſort of the Ancient Heathens, whom our Author prefers much before us, did lay the very Foundation of their Government upon the *Union* betwixt *Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Governours*; and that after God Almighty had committed the Management of both to two Brothers; he afterwards to make this Tye the more inſeparable, inſtituted but one Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which the whole *Jewiſh* Nation being obliged to viſit, they could not alter their *Government*, without at the ſame time renouncing their *Religion*. What this Gentleman is pleaſed to tell us concerning the old Philoſophers, and their Preference, is as vain as the reſt, ſince he proves nothing of their Foundation, and will (when we by and by treat of that point) be as ridiculous as moſt of his former whimſical Aſſertions: He would have done well, when he compared the *Old Faſhion'd Learning of the Times, wherein the Univerſity-Statutes were compiled*, with the Clothes made after

Puffendorff. de habit. relig. ad vit. civil.

Quam ob cauſam populus Judaicus ſalva ſua religione cum alia civitate plene coaleſcere non potuit, unde ſi-ſus religio Judaica ſtatui fuit coæva, eodem tempore ac volumine ſanciti legibus, circa ſacra & civilia. Ita & religio Judaica implicita fuit, ut illa huic ſuperſtes eſſe non poſſet. Sicut deſtructio templi & everſio Reip. certiſſimum indicium ſit abolitæ religionis Judaicæ.

ter the Mode, which was in Henry *the* VIII
Days; to have alſo remembred, h
much that bigotted ſort of Philoſo
of the *Pythagoreans*, who gave no o
reaſons for their Opinions, than
dixit, and which our Author has ma
ted to a Hair, is out of fashion am
the moſt ſenſible part of Mankind.
ought to have conſidered how liele
table it would be both to our Times
Conſtitutions, if, according to the
ſtom of the Ancient *Academicians*,
ſhould be obliged to hear them pr
and contradict every Body with
proving, or as much as aſſerting circu
ſtantially their Opinions; In which
this Gentleman takes a more than o
nary Pride. And I would ask him
Diogenes the *Cynick* ſhould come in
Wine-pipe rolling to *Whitehall*, wh
ther he would not appear as *ridicu*
there, as one dreſs'd up after *the Fa*
which was uſual in King Henry *the* VI
Days. And yet theſe are ſome of
admired Philoſophers, theſe his ingen
ous Comparisons: is not that taking pa
for nothing? It is not to be denied, b
that from ſome foreign Univerſities, ſev
ral matters might be taken, which woul
much improve ours; as alſo that a gre

Cic. de Orat. l. 1.

Magno conatu magnas nugas agere.

deal might be added as to Universities in
general; but as I always have had a natu-
ral Aversion against that Office as Gen-
sor, so troublesome to all Lovers of Li-
berty, and that I have received particu-
lar Obligations from one of our two
Universities; I will rather leave that
Province to more able Men, than be too
busie and forward in mentioning the
same. What also this Gentleman says,
That the Lawyers have been in most
places favourers of Liberty, I will not
contradict positively; because, to prove
the contrary would exceed the Limits of
Animadversions; though, I believe, if a
proportionable Computation were made
betwixt the Gown of both Kinds; it
would be found that the Lawyers, even
in our latter Times, have in no ways
been behind hand with the Clergy in
that point. But since it would be unrea-
sonable, that the whole Body of either
Kind should be charged with the opini-
ons of a few; and a great many of these
also, partly have altered, partly laid a-
side the same; I reckon it better to bu-
ry it in oblivion, than by exasperating
to revive the old Animosities. But we
must return to our Author, who after
he has long discoursed concerning the

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Diseases in the Body politick, now begins to come to his Remedies. So have seen our half-learned Youngsters in Physick, who having got together a few Aphorisms and other sayings out of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, apply them with a very comely Countenance to all sorts of Sicknesses, and with no less Confidence promise Cure, speedy and easie, by help of their Universal never-failing Restauration of the whole Body: which though they generally pretend to be as ancient as *Hermes Trismegist*; yet is upon due enquiry commonly found to be taken out of some bragging Chymist or other of our times: But let us look upon our Author's Receipt. *The* Greeks *and* Romans, says he, *instituted their Academies to quite another purpose; the whole Education of their Youth tended to make them as useful to the Society they lived in, as possible; There they were train'd up to Exercise and Labour; to accustom them to an active Life. No Vice was more infamous than Sloth, nor any Man more contemptible, than him, that was too lazy to do all the good he could. The Lectures of their Philosophers served to quicken them up to this. They recommended above all things the Duty to their Country, the Preservation of their*

Laws

Laws and the publick Liberty; subservient to which, they preached up Moral Vertues, such as Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and Contempt of Death, &c. Sometimes they made use of pious Cheats, as Elysian Fields, and an Assurance of future Happiness, if they died in the Cause of their Country; And even deceived their Hearers into Greatness; hence proceeded all those noble Characters, wherewith their Histories are so stock'd, &c. The Managers of our modern Education, have not been quite so publick-spirited; for it has been for the most part in the hands of Men, who have a distinct Interest from the publick, &c. Good Learning as well as Travell, is a great Antidote against the plague of Tyranny. The Books that are left us of the Ancients (from whence, as from Fountains we draw all that we are now Masters of,) are full of Doctrines, Sentences, and Examples, exhorting to the Conservation or Recovery of the publick Liberty, which was once valued above Life. The Hero's there celebrated are, for the most part, such as had destroyed or expelled Tyrants; and though Brutus be generally declaimed against by modern School-boys; He was then esteemed the true Pattern and Model of exact Vertue. Such was Co-

to of Unica, with others of like Stamp, &c.
'Twas not to learn Foreign Languages that the Grecians and Romans took such pains so long together in the Academies and Lectures of their Philosophers; 'twas not then, as now with us, when the Character of a Scholar is, to be skill'd in Words, &c. The manner of Education produced Men of another Stamp than appears now upon the Theatre of the World, such as we are scarce worthy to mention, and much never hope to imitate, till the like manner of Institution grows again into Reputation; which in unlearned Countries is never likely to be, as long as the Ecclesiasticks, who have an opposite Interest, keep not only the Education of the Youth, but the Consciences of old Men in their Hands, &c.

Here is such a Panegyrick upon the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, that I much question whether *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* both have said so much of them. But since our Author seems to nauseate so much all that is new, and only to admire Antiquity, it is a great wonder to me, why he did not go to the most ancient Fountain it self, from whence the *Greeks*, and consequently the *Romans*, had their best Laws and Constitutions; I mean the *Egyptians*:

What

What the Historians have related of them, as having first of all understood the Rules of governing, and kept them Laws the longest and best in use of any other Nation, as having implanted them into their very Infants by degrees, and taken effectual care to instruct them afterwards in Philosophy and Divinity, deserves credit by all who have had any insight into those most ancient times. Besides their most admirable Institutions, the Invention of Astronomy, Arithmetick, Geometry and Physick, are unquestionably attributed to them; their Magnificent Tombs, stupendious Obelisks, and Pyramids, their Sculptures, and whole Architecture, their Labyrinth, and prodigious Chanels, derived out of the River *Nile*, together with their stupendious Lake of *Myris*, were much surpassing any thing the *Greeks* or *Romans* ever did afterwards. Their bodily Exercises, as Horse and Foot-Races, besides those with Chariots, were surprizing things; and, to say all, the *Greeks* had all from them, but they almost all from themselves. And since it is absolutely certain, that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and the most solid *Grecian* Philosophers did fetch their best

Diod. lib. 1. §. 2. Herodot. lib. 2. Plat. in Tim.

Knowledge

Knowledge from thence; and it is even spoken to the praise of *Moses* himself, that he was instructed in all sorts of Wisdom of the *Egyptians*; I cannot well devise what induced our Author not so much as to mention them; except the Reason is, That their way of having Hereditary Princes, to whom they did pay (though no Slaves) a most profound Respect, did not agree with our Author's Romantick Opinion of the transcendent Vertues of *Brutus*. And since he pretends to teach us the true Education of our Youth, the *Persians* would have furnish'd him with as good Patterns in their Princes Sons, as any are to be found among the *Romans* or *Greeks*, but that I suppose these were less for his purpose. We must therefore look a little into the ancient Monuments, and see whether they are the only People that, being to be preferred before all others, ought to prescribe Rules for Education and Policy. I suppose it will not be thought a new Objection to say, That the *Greeks* have not been so Religious in describing their own Affairs as the *Romans*; wherefore we ought not to wonder, if these latter do not speak in so high Terms of them as our Author.

That

That the *Greeks* made no great Account of their Faith; *Cicero*, who knew them, I think, at least as well as this Gentleman, has left as a most notable Remark upon them; (*a*) nay he did not stick to say publickly, That they did not know truly what belonged to it; tho' for Eloquence, Ingenuity, and other Studies, they were sufficiently to be recommended: (*b*) Their Democratical and unskilful way of governing, he reflects upon as most pernicious and destructive: (*c*) Their Laws and Constitutions he thought so much inferiour to those of the *Romans*, that there was no Comparison to be made betwixt them. As to their Philosophers, he calls them a Company of Pratlers (*d*), who talk'd much, and

(*a*) Cic. *pro L.* Flacc. *Tribuo Græcis literas, do multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam: denique etiam, si quæ alia sibi sumunt, non repugno: testimoniorum religionem & fidem nunquam ista natio coluit: totiusq; hujus rei, quæ sit vis, quæ auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant. Ibid* (*b*). *Quum in theatro imperiti homines rerum omnium rudes ignarique consederant, tum bella inutilia suscipiebant, tum seditiosos homines Reip. præficiebant, tum optime meritos cives è civitate ejiciebant.*

(*c*) Cic. *de Orator. lib.* 1. *Quantum præstiterint majores nostri prudentia cæteris gentibus, tum facillime quisque intelliget, si cum Græcorum Lycurgo & Dracone & Solone nostras leges conferre voluerit: Incredibile est enim, quam sit omne jus civile, præter nostrum, inconditum ac pene ridiculum.*

(*e*) Cic. *Tuscul. quæst. l.* 1. *Omnia Romani aut invenere per se sapientius, quam Græci, aut accepta ab illis fecere meliora, quæ quidem digna statuissent, in quibus elaborarent. Remp. nostri majores certe melioribus temperaverunt & institutis & legibus quam Græci.*

(*d*) *De orat. l.* 2. *Seculis multis ante Gymnasia inventa sunt, quam in his Philosophi garrire cœperunt.*

apply'd themselves to no thing. (e) And it is remarkable that the Philosophy of that great Man, *Plato*, immediately after his death was divided first into the *Academicks* and *Peripateticks*; and not long after, into as many Sects as there were little prating School-masters or Teachers. From whence it may easily be conjectured how *useful* they were to, and what *Interest* they had in the *publick Good*. (f) *Gellius* who was sent as Pro-Consul into *Greece*, by calling them together at *Athens* would fain have endeavoured, by his Authority and Perswasion, to put an end to their vain Disputes; but could effect nothing: Such great *Lovers* were they of the *publick Good*, that they did not think it worth their while to hearken to his wholsome Counsels. And if we reflect seriously upon their Transactions, it will easily be found that what our Author tells us, of their *love of Liberty and Country, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice*, has abundance more

(e) *De orat. lib.* 3. *Graeci aliqui doctores pervulgata praecepta decantant, quum ipsi nunquam forum, nunquam ullum judicium aspexerint.*

(f) Cic. *de legib. lib.* 1. *Gellius, quum proconsul, ex praetura in Graeciam venisset, Athenis Philosophos, quantum erant, in locum unum convocavit, ipsique magnopere author fuit, ut aliquando controversiarum aliquem facerent modum; quod si essent eo animo ut nollent aetatem in litibus conterere, posse rem convenire, & simul operam suam illis esse pollicitus, si posset, inter eos, aliquid convenire.*

Pomp

Pomp than real Truth in it, That ancient Law of their drunken Meetings at *Athens*, *aut bibe aut abi*, does not ſhew ſo much *Temperance*; and if the *Lacedæmonians* exceeded the *Athenians* in Sobriety, *Avarice* was a general Vice among them. *Philip* of *Macedon*'s, (who underſtood the *Greeks* and their Policies very well) Saying is famous: That no Fort was ſtrong enough to hold out againſt an Attack, if there were but an Opportunity to let an Aſs loaden with Gold enter the ſame. Their continual *Strifes* are ſo well known, that it would be ſuperfluous to pretend to enumerate them; and though they conſtantly did exclaim againſt *Tyranny*, yet their main endeavour was to *tyrannize* over one another, and effectually did it by turns, till at laſt *Philip*, and afterwards *Alexander*, took away from them the means to devour one another; and *under pretence of publick Liberty*, by their curſed *Oſtraciſm*, to ruin ſuch of their Countrymen as had deſerved beſt of them. I have not related this to derogate any thing from the Merits of a great many among them, eminent for their Doctrine, and brave Atchievements. *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and *Plato* are queſtionleſs

ſtionleſs among the *Greecians*, highly to be recommended for their great Indu-ſtry in ſearching for their Doctrine among the *Egyptians*, and other far di-ſtant Countries; and their Doctrines hav-ing from thence been transferred into *Italy*, and afterwards into theſe Parts of the World, we ought to pay a due ac-knowledgment to thoſe who have ſhewn us the way how to improve our Know-ledge. But my only aim is to demon-ſtrate the Vanity of our Romantick Au-thor, who pretends to ſet them ſo far above our Age, both in their *Doctrine* and *great Deeds*, that we muſt not as much as *hope to imitate them*; and, that if *Pythagoras* and *Democritus* were great Men, yet the Arrogancy of the firſt, and the latters blinding himſelf, thereby to divert himſelf from all outward Objects, and the better to ſpeculate, favour more of a *Phantaſtical Conceit*, than *Uſefulneſs to the Publick*.

Cic. de fi-nib. l. 5.

And what has been ſaid of their Philo-ſophers may alſo be applied to all others who have been eminent among them; as the *Athenians*, had their *Ariſtides*, *Cimon*, *Thraſibulus*, *Conon*, and others, famous for *Juſtice*, *Military Atchievements*, and *love to their fatherly Country*; there were alſo

to

to be found among them a *Miltiades*, who affected to *domineer* over them; a *Themiſtocles*, who made a *League* with *Artaxerxes* againſt them; an *Alcibiades*, who was as excellent in *Vices*, as celebrated in *Vertues*, by whoſe Advice the *Lacedæmonians* ſtraitned the *Athenians*. If the *Lacedæmonians* had their *Ageſilaus* and *Leonidas*, the *Thebans* their *Epaminondas*, never ſufficiently to be praiſed for their extraordinary Vertues; had not the *Lacedæmonians* alſo a *Pauſanias*, famous for his *Pride*, *Levity* and *Treachery*? Was not among them alſo a *Lyſander* ſo juſtly accuſed of *Crudelity*, and other *enormous Crimes*? *Callicratidas* their General, if he was celebrated for *Military Vertue*; his *Ambition* was almoſt the undoing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Ruin of one of the beſt Fleets they ever ſet out. And ſince our Author has magnified their Philoſophers ſo much above ours, I cannot but put him in mind of the greateſt of Philoſophers, who, being come forth in our Age, has in ſo much out-done all the Ancients, both in Metaphyſical and Natural Principles, and is in no ways behind them in his Ethicks; but eſpecially in his incompatable Method of Reaſoning, that I am

Cic. l. of-fic. 1. *Lacedæmonios, cIaſſe illa aviſa, aliam parare poſſe, ſe fugere ſine de docere non poſſe.*

DesCartes.

to believe, if he had perused and duly considered his Philosophy, he would perhaps have been cured of his vain Conceits of the old ones. It is not my business here to determine whether he has taken some light as to his natural Principles, out of *Epicurus*, as some say he has as to his Metaphysicks out of St. *Augustine*, and other Fathers; this is most certain, that since his publishing the same, there has been a more solid Foundation laid towards the true understanding and advancing the most useful Sciences, than all the Golden Ages of his so much admired Philosophers have been able to produce. But let us not insist farther upon the *Greeks*, since we must also take a short view of the *Romans*: That the same have much exceeded the former in true greatness of Mind, Constancy, Love to their Country, and, before all, in Martial Discipline, Knowledge of the Laws, nay even in Eloquence (that most beloved Art of the *Greeks*,) have been equal to them, is what scarce any body, who has had a right insight into both their Histories, will deny: but that they should have committed the Education of their Youth, generally speaking, to the chief ma-

nagement

nagement of such Philosophers as were frequent in *Greece*, I am to learn yet. As the Foundation of the *Roman* Government was their Military Discipline, and excellent Laws and Customs; so the same were implanted into their Youth, by the Instructions and Examples rather of their Parents, than any publick Philosophers: And though in Process of time Eloquence begun to bear a great Sway with the *Romans*; (a) yet was it a great while before they took the pains to go and hear the *Greecian* Orators, but were contented with such as their Genius and Home-education furnish'd them withal. (b) And it is observeable that most of the *Romans* did excell in the same kind, wherein their Fathers or Ancestors had been remarkable: (c) And such as had not the

(a) Cic. *lib.* 1. *de Orat. Romæ profecto nulla unquam vehementius, quam eloquentiæ studia viguerunt. Nam posteaquam imperio omnium gentium constituto, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit: nemo fere laudis cupidus adolescens, non sibi ad dicendum studio omni enitendum putavit. Ac primo quidem totius rei ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam viam, neque aliquod præceptum artis esse arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, consequebantur. Post autem auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitisque eorum literis adhibitisq; doctoribus, incredibili quodam dicendi studio, nostri homines flagraverunt.*

(b) *Lib.* 1. *offic. Quorum patres aut majores aliqua gloria præstiterunt, eorum plerique in eo genere laudis student excellere; Ut Q. Decius Publii filius, in jure civili: Pauli filius Africanus in re militari.*

(c) *Pro P. Sext. Imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos, Decios, Curios, Fabricios, Maximos, Scipiones, Lentulos, Æmilios, innumerabilesq; alios, qui Romanam Remp. stabiliverunt.*

Advantage of such Parentage, commonly used to chuse some great Man or another, from whom they took Directions, and whom they strove to imitate. From hence came that Custom of taking their Youths into the Senate-House, that by continual Observations of the Gravity, Constancy and Secrecy of that great Assembly, they might be instructed, not only in State-Affairs, but also excited to imitate the Examples of their several Parents. To these Methods, and not the hearing of pratling Philosophers was chiefly owing that prodigious Off-spring of so many Valiant, Wise, and Eloquent Men, who were educated by the Care of their Wise Parents, and by timely applying themselves to Business under their Tuition, became the Terrour of their Enemies.

Cic. Philip. p. 5. Legibus annalibus, cum grandiorem ætatem ad consulatum Romani constituebant, adolescentiæ demeritorem verebantur.

And this was doubtless one Reason why by their Annal Laws no body was admitted to the highest degree of Honour, till at a certain age, that also, as by steps, they might ascend to the same, sufficiently prepared with the Knowledge not only, but also the Practice and Management of State and Military Affairs. From this

this Paternal Care, and timely applying themſelves to the Knowledge of their Affairs, and Martial Diſcipline, came theſe ſo renowned Men among them; and theſe Philoſophers, whom our Author would fain make us believe to be the principal Men of their Education, were only employed to teach them the Precepts, of Oratory, and ſuch like; (*d*) and as by the moſt underſtanding *Greeks* they were not much valued, ſo they proved very miſchievous to the *Romans*, as they had done to the *Greeks* before, and will do ſo to all Governments, where the Art of Rhetorick is preferred before true Senſe. The *Roman* Commonwealth thus inſtructed with excellent Laws, and ſtock'd with Great and Wiſe Men, yet was ſo over-run with all ſorts of Vices, and entangled at laſt in the Snares of its own Citizens, that I cannot for my Life ſee why this Gentleman ſhould ſo much prefer it before our times, ſince it is evident enough, that Viceswere as predominant there as they are among us; and that if they have had Men famous for Military Atchievements, Temperance,

(*d*) Cic. *lib.* 1. *Offic. Carneades dicebat, eos qui Rhetores nominarentur, & qui dicendi præcepta traderent, nihil plane tenere. Mneſarchus hos, quos nos oratores vocaremus, nihil eſſe dicebat, niſi quoſdam operarios, lingua celeri & exercitata, oratorem autem, niſi qui ſapiens eſſet, eſſe neminem.*

perance, Constancy, and other Vertues, our Age is not destitute of them. Was not Avarice as enormous among the *Romans* as it is among us? The Saying of *Jugurtha*, who had tryed them in that kind, sufficiently verifies it. And he that doubts, whether all sorts of Vices were as much in vogue at *Rome* formerly, as they are in our Age, let him (besides what their Poets and other Historians have left us) but cast one Eye upon that Catalogue which *Cicero* gives us of such as were the Associates of *Catiline*, and belonged to his Army, and he will quickly be of the same Opinion with me. (e) Did not *Cicero* tell them publickly to their Faces, That through the Licentiousness and Avarice of the *Roman* Ge-

O Urbem venalem! si modo emptorem invenisset.

Cic. *Catilinar.* 2.

(e) Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* *Quem enim possumus imperatorem aliquo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatus, atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum cogitare de rep. qui pecuniam ex ærario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut propter cupiditatem provinciæ magistratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam Romæ in quæstu reliquerit? Vestra admirmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini qui hæc fecerint. Ego autem neminem nomino. Quare mihi irasci nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera quæ per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utinam plures arbitramini per hosces annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim exercitum potest is continere imperator, qui seipsum non continet; neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult.*

nerals,

nerals, more Cities were spoiled by their own Soldiers, than by the Enemies? Had not they among them as well their *Tarquin*, *Sulla*, *Catiline*, *Antony*, and others, as their *Scipio's*, *Regulus*, *Marcellus*, and such like.!

Truly even *Cicero* himself, who could give such good Doctrines to others, who pretended to be behind-hand with no body for Love to his Country, Greatness of Mind, and other Vertues, who was certainly as great a Philosopher as ever the *Romans* had, and writ as pathetically, as any body in his Philosophical Treatises, was, without Contradiction, guilty of vain Ambition, Flattery, Dissimulation, and other Extravagancies. And though he exclaims most egregiously against the latter, especially (a) in his Philosophical Works; yet those that will take the pains to compare his Orations, *pro Rege Dejotaro & pro Marcello*, with his *Philippicks*, will easily be convinced, that he had studied that Art as well, and made himself as great a Master of it as any body. Now if we look upon the Religious Institutions of the *Romans*, How ridiculous were they!

(a) *Lib. 3. de offic. Pythius, & omnes aliud agentes, aliud simulantes, perfidi, improbi, malitiosi sunt. Nullum igitur eorum factum potest esse utile, cum sit tot vitiis inquinatum.*

they! And though they ſerved ſometimes for a State's Turn, yet proved they often as miſchievous; ſince for all the outward Pomp, (*b*) the moſt judicious, as well of the *Romans*, as alſo others, were ſenſible of the Vanity of them, and would ridicule them alſo upon occaſion. How *Cato* the Elder repreſented the Vanity of the *Auguri*, and *Hannibal*'s witty Reply to *Pruſias*, who would not fight, becauſe the Entrails of the Beaſts did not prove favourable, is well known to thoſe who are vers'd in Hiſtories. Their Conſtitutions, Laws, and Policy, it's true, were extraordinary; their Counſels grave, and deeply laid; their Conſtancy admirable, from whence they ſeldom receded; their Military Diſcipline and Order of their Legions, without Compariſon, much above any thing that was to be found in thoſe times. Nevertheleſs the perpetual Conteſts betwixt the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, and afterwards betwixt the Senate and People, cauſed a great many Convulſions in the State, and was at laſt the cauſe of its Alteration. After *Valerius* had once given

(*b*) Cic. lib. 2. *Divinat.* *Vetus illud Catonis admodum ſcitum eſt, qui mirari ſe aiebat, quod non rideret aruſpex, aruſpicem cum vidiſſ. Rex Pruſias cum eo, cum Annibali exulanti pugnare placeret, negabat ſe audere, quod exta prohiberent. An tu, inquit, ſervulæ vitulinæ magis vis quam victori imperatori credere?*

ven an Inch to the *Plebeians*, in allowing the Appeal to the People, they would not be contented, till by their ſhameful Tumultuous Aſſembly in the Mount *Aventine*, they forced the Senate to allow them their Tribunes, who ſo well knew how to play their Cards, that in a little time the *Plebeians* were admitted to all Dignities, and by continual Strifes againſt the *Patricians*, were the occaſion of the aboliſhing the Power of both. For when *Sylla* had once tryed what the *Romans* could bear, *Pompey* his Scholar was for following his Foot-ſteps; but being prevented by *Cæſar*, left that Work to be perfected by him and his Succeſſors. Their Gravity alſo and Conſtancy was not a little ſhaken, when they were forced to make that ſhameful Peace with *Porſenna*, ſo little ſpoken of by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, and to redeem themſelves from the *Gauls*, called the *Senones*, with Money. How alſo their Military Diſcipline did, by degrees, decay, and at laſt degenerate into ſuch a licentiouſneſs, that the Souldiers and Generals of their ſetting up became Maſters of the Empire, the Hiſtories of theſe Times do abundantly teſtify. It is then in vain for our Author to ſeek for his

his Golden Age among the *Greeks* and the *Romans*. If he had perused the 97 (a) Epistle of *Seneca*'s, who questionless had an extraordinary insight into those Times, he would have lost his Appetite of railing against our Age, since it is evident to all considering Men, that if our Times be over-run with Vices; nevertheless we are not destitute of Examples of Contempt of Death, Love to their Country, Constancy, Valour, and other most eminent Vertues.

(a) *Errat, mi Lucili, si existimas nostri seculi esse vitium luxuriam & negligentiam boni moris & alia quæ objicit suis quisq; temporibus. Hominum sunt illa non temporum: Nulla ætas vacavit à culpa; Et si æstimare licentiam cujusq; seculi incipias, pudet dicere, tunquam apertius, quam coram Catone peccatum est.*

Contempt of Death is so common to our Age, that even our Miscreants shew it frequently in their Journey to *Tiburn*. And if this Gentleman's Eyes had not been quite dazled with his Ancients vanity, he might at *Copenhagen*, when he was there, have seen the Remnants of Valour, Bravery and Constancy, which the Citizens of that place, when reduced to the utmost, shewed under the Conduct of so brave a King in our Age. Hath our Author forgot what one single Person, whose Name was *Hasselaer*, did in our memory at *Amsterdam*; who saved that

that City from falling into the hands of the *French*, who were much ſtronger and nearer to that City, than ever *Hannibal* was to *Rome*, after the defeat of *Cannæ*? Can our Author have forgot that ſucceſſive Off-ſpring of *Heroes*, of that illuſtrious Family, from whence his preſent Majeſty is deſcended? Has he forgot what his Anceſtors not only, but more particularly he in Perſon has done for the Deliverance of his Native Country, firſt, and again for us, againſt a more potent Enemy, than the *Carthaginians* were in compariſon of *Rome*? If I ſhould but hint the particulars of theſe great actions, certainly it would make him aſham'd of his vain Conceits. But ſince theſe great and unparallell'd Actions will never be forgot by all good Men, and my Pen is in no ways able to find words proportionable to ſo extraordinary Merits, I will only ſay, that I will defie our Author to ſhew me out of all his worm-eaten Antiquities, (whether *Greeks* or *Romans*,) a Family by a continual Succeſſion of time ſo abounding with Champions for their Country, as his Majeſty's, or any one of the Ancient *Hero*'s ſurpaſſing his Majeſty in Valour, Prudence and Juſtice. It

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is therefore to be admired, why among ſo many *Romans* eminent for their Vertues, he could not pick out any others to put as Examples, beſides *Cato* and *Brutus*; *Cato* was always cenſured by all underſtanding Politicians, for having more ſurlineſs in him than was uſeful to the State. And *Brutus* committed the blackeſt Villany againſt his Friend, and murthered him, to whom he ow'd more than to his Parents. Neither is the matter much mended, by excuſing his Villany with the pretence of publick Liberty; for not to mention, that he and *Caſſius* took upon themſelves the ſame Title of *Imperator*, as *Cæſar* had done: it is evident enough to all ſenſible Men, that they intended to play the ſame Game, if not a worſe, ſince they were far behind him in every reſpect. And if a pretence of Liberty is ſufficient to warrant the blackeſt Crimes, I ſee no reaſon why *Ravaillac*, and others of that ſtamp, ſhould not claim the ſame Priviledge; ſince queſtionleſs the pretence of their Principles of Religion are as ſpecious as thoſe of Liberty. Methinks our Author ſhews in this point eſpecially,

Cic. *ad Attic. l. Ep. 1. Cato optimo animo utens & ſumma fide, nocet interdum Reip. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis politia, non tanquam in Romuli fæce, ſententiam.*

ally a little too much inclination to such, as rail with great violence against the *Jesuits*; yet have not laid aside their Doctrine of Sacrificing either King, Friend, Relations or Kindred, when ever they are possessed with the Frensical humour, that any thing is done in prejudice of their pretended Rights, which they know how to deduce with as many florid Speeches, as ever the whimsical (*b*) *Greeks* and some of the (*b*) *Romans* did, when they intended to impose upon the People under the pretext of publick Liberty. And here I should say something concerning our Author's new broach'd Rules of Policy, as also the Digression he makes upon the most Antient Constitutions of Government in *Europe*: but because these *Remarks* are grown almost as monstrous in bigness as the *Preface* it self, and we shall be obliged to treat of these Points hereafter, when he in the *Treatise* represents the form of Government in *Denmark* and other Countries, we will supersede it here, as also, what he says according to his Romantick way, *That*

(*b*) Cic. lib. 2. de invent. Rer. Græcorum: *Qui tyrannum occiderat, Olympionicorum præmium capito, & quem volet sibi rem à magistratu deposcito, & magistratui ei concedito.*

(*c*) Senec. Hercul. Fur. *Victima haud ullâ amplior potest magisque opima mactari Jovi, quam Rex iniquus.*

in Spain, Italy, *and* France, *Slavery is not so conspicuous, but in the Northern parts it appears in its true shape*; since something of that will be said in the Conclusion of the *Treatise*, where he speaks to the same purpose. But what he says, *That it is now or never seasonable to assert both the Peoples Right and his Majesty's Title*, is like all the rest of his Vanity, since God knows he has not said one word farther of it; and it would have been but common Wisdom not to have inferred things of that high moment in a transitory way among his fantastical Conceits, especially at a time when the People enjoy their legal Liberties under the Reign of a Wise, Just, and Brave King, whose Title is so generally approved by the Practice of all, and especially our Age, and more particularly by the general approbation of all *Europe*, and all good Men in these Kingdoms, I conclude with the great *Roman* Politician and Philosopher.

Nihil est temeritate turpius, nec quidquam tam indignum sapientis gravitate & constantia, quam aut falsum sentire, aut quod non satis explorate perceptum aut cognitum sit, sine ulla dubitatione defendere. *Cic. lib.* 1. *de natur. Deor.*

RE-

REMARKS
UPON THE
TREATISE,
CALLED
An ACCOUNT
OF
DENMARK.

THE first Chapter of the *Treatise* it self, having nothing material in it, besides a general Geographical Description of the Territories belonging to the King of *Denmark*, does not require any further Observations; and if the Author in some other matters had, (as he has done in this) rather follow'd the foot-steps of Authentick Writers, than his *Sensible and Grave Men* (as he calls them in this Chapter) who have misled him for the most

part, into a Conceit of his own *Knowledge* and an ill-grounded *Experience*, inſtead of *Truth*, we might have ſuperſeded to extend theſe *Remarks* ſo far as we are obliged now to do. We will therefore go on to the Second Chapter, where he ſpeaks thus, concerning the Iſland of *Zealand*: *It is almoſt of a circular Figure, and contains about* 180 Engliſh *Miles in circumference. I cannot commend its Fertility, there being no Bread Corn growing in any part of it, except Rye, which indeed is in good quantity, and whereof moſt of their Bread is made*, &c. *It has no Rivers, nor above half a ſcore Brooks that are able to turn a Mill*, &c. *About one fourth part of it is Forreſt lying open for the King's Hunting, and his Game, ſuch as Stags, Wild Boars, Roe Buck*, &c. *Theſe are ſuch Sacred things, that no body dares touch them, tho they find them in whole Herds deſtroying their Corn, to the infinite yearly damage of the poor Peaſants*, &c. *For Sea-Ports, that moſt excellent one belonging to* Copenhagen, *muſt make amends for the want of them, not only in this, but many other of the Iſlands; there being few others, that I know of, capable of harboring a Veſſel of* 200 *Tuns*, &c.

Neither

Neither is this a ſenſible want, becauſe there are no Commodities in this Iſland, for Exportation. I have been told, that forty years ago, ten or twelve Dutch *Fly-Boats found yearly their Lading at* Kiog, *a pretty flouriſhing Town at that time, within twenty* Engliſh *Miles of* Copenhagen, *but of late they ſeem to be well ſatisfied, if the Product of the Iſle maintains in this ſort of Grain the Inhabitants of it: Not that the Numbers of theſe are increaſed, but Husbandry is not ſo much encouraged now, as when the Taxes of the poor Country People were leſs frequent and grievous, &c. The feeding of the Commonalty generally throughout all* Denmark, *is very mean, the Burgers or Citizens ſuſtaining themſelves with Rye Bread, Salt Fleſh, Stock-Fiſh, Bacon, and very bad Cheeſe; inſomuch that the Inſpectors of our Markets in* England, *who uſe to deſtroy or ſend to the Priſons all ſuch Victuals as are not judged wholeſom, would (if they found them no better provided than at* Copenhagen) *go near to empty the Markets, and leave little to either Buyer or Seller; the Peaſants live on Roots, white Meats, and Rye Bread, ſeldom taſting freſh Fiſh, and ſcarce ever Fleſh, unleſs on ſome extraordinary Feſtivals*

as on St. Martin's Eve, *when each Family in* Denmark, *without fail, makes merry with a roasted Goose at Supper. Here and in all* Denmark, *are but two Seasons of the year, Winter and Summer; these two other more agreeable ones of Spring and Autumn not being commonly known; the Spring never, and the Autumn seldom, &c. The principal things of this Island, and indeed of all* Denmark, *are the City of* Copenhagen, *and the Passage of the* Sound. *I will begin with the City, the rather, because when I have done with that, I have little more to say of any other in the King of* Denmark's *Dominions, there being no other belonging to him, much better than our Town of St.* Albans. Thus far our Author.

This Island of *Zealand* containing the chief City of all *Denmark*, and being the place of Residence of its Kings, and consequently more frequented by Strangers, than most of the other parts of this Kingdom, we might have justly expected a more exact Account thereof, than of the rest; which, how it has been performed, will be worth our taking notice of. The circumference of *Zealand* he makes to be 280 *English* Miles, when I am surre I could never

never meet with any body whether *Dane* or other *Foreigner*, that knew this Island, but all confirmed what I had observed as near as I could, before, that the length of this Island were about 20 *Danish* Leagues, and if you do reckon but 4 *Danish* Leagues to consist of four *English* Miles (as certainly they do at least) the circumference which this Gentleman himself is pleased to make almost circular, must by computation, amount to 240 *English* Miles, which is 60 more than is mentioned in the Author's Description. And according to this Calculation, you must give grains of allowance for all the rest; he cannot (says he) *recommend its Fertility, there being no Bread Corn growing there in any part, except Rye*: but he had forgot that there also grows Wheat in some parts, and Barley almost every where in abundance, as also a great quantity of Oats. He says, *That there are few Ports in this and many other of these Islands capable of harbouring a Vessel of* 200 *Tuns*; *neither that this is a sensible want, because there are no Commodities in this Island for Exportation.* I must confess he has been a little more modest in this Assertion than in any other before, having added the words

(*that I know of*) yet it is a wonder that his *Grave and Sensible Men* could not instruct him better. They must for all their *Gravity* have been either very ignorant, or else very negligent in not telling him, that in this very Island of *Zealand*, were other Cities and Ports (not to speak in this place of those in the other Islands, which shall be mentioned in their proper places) which could, and did *harbour Ships of above* 200 *Tuns*, and that it would be a *considerable want*, if these places were not in that Island; since from *Corsaer*, a place well Fortified with a Castle, and lying on the West side of this Island on the great Belt over against *Nyburgh* in *Funen*, a considerable quantity of Barley is yearly Exported to *Holland*; as is done likewise from *Holbeck*, but more especially from *Calenburgh*; which being a well built place, *exceeding* St. *Albans* in every respect, and having a very good Port capable of harbouring Ships of a much greater burden than 200 Tuns, stands about fifteen or sixteen *English* Miles North of *Corsoer*. In the South part of this Island, is also a place called *Nestmed*, situated on a Navigable River, which extends it self much higher into

into the Country, (tho' our Author has been pleased to allow none at all here) from whence there is a considerable Trade to *Lubeck*. And if from *Kiog*, an inconsiderable place in comparison of these places we have now mentioned, but particularly remembered by this Gentleman, when he forgot the rest, there used formerly to go a few Fly-boats to *Holland*, there go more now from thence to *Norwegen* with Malt. I will not insist now upon some of less Note, as *Schelsoer* and *Warburg*, tho' the last of these has been famous in our Age, because *Charles* King of *Sweden* in his first Expedition against *Denmark*, *Anno* 1657. did set first footing there, as he did afterwards in his second, *Anno* 1658. at *Corsoer*. When I consider with my self, that this Gentleman has not as much as made the least mention of these before-mentioned places, and how much this contradicts his Notions he has set down of this Island of *Zealand*, as also that not so much as any places have been named by him, lying beyond *Elsinore*, *Cronenburgh* & *Kiog*, the most remote of which is within 20 *English* Miles of *Copenhagen*, it seems to be very obvious, that both his *own Knowledge*

and

and that of his *Grave and Sensible Teachers*, did not reach much farther. And what may confirm any body in this opinion is, that he tells us a most dismal Story, *of whole Herds of Stags, Wild Boars and Roe Bucks*, (whom he calls *Sacred things*) *destroying the poor Peasants Corn*: when it is sufficiently known, that there is scarce any Kingdom to be found, where there is not Provision made for preserving the Royal Game against the rapaciousness of the Peasants and other Vagabonds. And tho' there is a considerable quantity of Forests Royal, and Wild Beasts in this Island, yet is an effectual care taken, that they may not be destructive to the Country; since not only every Nobleman, (who possess almost all the Lands not belonging to the King here) have the Priviledge of Hunting and Shooting in their own Lordships, or Territories, but also the Court by frequent Hunting, kill a great number of them, and the King keeps in every part a certain number of Huntsmen, whose Duty it is to preserve the Country from receiving damage by these wild Beasts.

But leaving the wild Beasts, we must also see what he says concerning the Inhabitants

bitants of *Denmark*, whose *feeding* (if this Gentleman is to be believed) *is very mean, and the Burgers and Citizens sustain themselves with Rye Bread, Salt Flesh, Stock Fish, Bacon, and very bad Cheese.* Here you see the Fare of the *Danes*, and that of those who live in the Cities, for the poor Peasants fare worse. I am apt to think that this Gentleman happened to light into some Black-Smiths or other their like Mechanicks House in *Copenhagen*, who (according to the Custom of these Northern Countries) being obliged to find their Journey-Men with Victuals at their Houses, where they work, make use of such Dishes as our Author has been pleased to mention here. But if he had been acquainted in Burgers or Citizens Houses of an higher Degree, he would have met also with another sort of Victuals. It is so generally objected as a fault to the Northern Nations, that they are too Liberal and Hospitable in their Houses, and that they mind Eating and Drinking more than any thing else, that I wonder how this Gentleman could think upon it, except he takes a particular Pride to be singular, and to tell us Miracles, which were never seen or heard of before his

Arrival

Arrival in *Denmark*. I may say it without *Vanity*, that the Northern parts are very well known to me, and perhaps as well as to this Gentleman, and this I can affirm for a truth, which may easily be confirmed by hundreds in this Town, that the aboveſaid Objection of the Author, is utterly contrary to the Experience of all underſtanding People, ſince it has been always confeſſed by them, that they rather exceed the true bounds in this point. For nothing is more common in thoſe parts, than to ſee the Table-Cloath laid thrice a day, and at every Meal to have hot Victuals, at Dinner eſpecially you ſhall ſeldom find them without two Diſhes; among Mechanicks the moſt ſolid ſort of Victuals ſuch as are ſuitable to their Conſtitution and Labour are uſed, but the better ſort of Citizens generally deny themſelves not any thing that the Seaſon affords, and are extreamly addicted to Varieties in their Diet. It is true, you may ſeldom meet there with ſuch large Diſhes of Meat at the Tables of the better ſort, as are cuſtomary here, but they make that up in the Number; ſince even in private Burgers Houſes, they ſeldom ſit down at Dinner or Supper without

out two Diſhes, & a Glaſs of Wine, which generally they are furniſh'd withall in their own Houſes, Taverns being not to be found in ſo exceſſive anumber there, as they are with us. When they invite their Friends, their Tables are always thrice fill'd up with variety of Victuals, & Wine is ſo plentiful among them, that if a Man does not feel the effects of the Feaſt the next day, he does not think himſelf well Entertained the day before. I will not undertake here to make an exact Compariſon betwixt our and their Markets, ſince perhaps this Gentleman and his Friends have taken more pains in ſearching them, than ever I did; but this is notorious enough, that in *Denmark* the Beef is exceeding well taſted and very fat, that Veal is proportionably good, (tho' not ſo large as here) and their Hogs-fleſh to be compared to any in the World, as alſo Lambs-fleſh and Mutton not to be deſpiſed, tho' the latter be not ſo common among them. Concerning their Poultry we will ſay nothing in this place, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak ſomething of this hereafter, when we come to our Author's Remarkable Hiſtory of the Green-Geeſe and other wild and tame

Fowl;

Fowl. What he says concerning that there are but two Seasons in *Denmark*, may best be explained by comparing the North Latitude of these Countries with some of ours. The North Latitude then of *Denmark*, being between the Degrees of 54 and 58 lies parallel to all that Tract in our Island, lying between the City of *York* and the further end of *Scotland*; and the City of *Copenhagen* being situated under the 56 Degrees of Northern Latitude, which is correspondent to that of *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*, we may from thence conjecture, That the *leaping from extremity of heat to extremity of cold*, is not near so fearful as this Gentleman would make us believe, or at least it is not so in all parts of *Denmark*. The rest of this Chapter is taken up with the Description of *Copenhagen*, which being the only place this Gentleman has thought worthy of taking particular notice of, yet is described by him so superficially, that besides what he says of the Port and its situation, scarce any thing else has been mentioned of the same. This Author having already shewed himself no great admirer of Universities, I do not much admire at

at his not so much as naming that of *Copenhagen*; but since he seem'd so fond in his *Preface*, of the Bodily Exercises practised in the Antient *Academies*, one might justly wonder why he has not mentioned that set up a few years ago at *Copenhagen*, which as it is greatly encouraged by his present *Danish* Majesty, in allowing considerable Sallaries and Priviledges to the same; so all sorts of Exercises, (besides Foreign Languages and Mathematicks) are taught in great perfection. The *Change* and *Arsenal* he has just vouchsafed to name, when it is confess'd by all that have taken a right view of the last of these two, that it is one of the finest to be met withall, and is especially much celebrated for that most wonderful *Cœlestial Globe*, which having six foot of Diameter, was once the work of that so much renowned *Danish* Astronomer, *Tycho Brahe*; I will only say thus much concerning *Copenhagen*, That as its Situation is one of the most Commodious in *Europe*, as to the Sea-side; so on the Land-side, it standing upon a Flat, and containing near 9000 Houses, it is encompass'd with a pleasant and delightful Country. The Streets are broad, clean and neat, wherein are

Lights

Lights kept in the Night-time, and what our Author says, *That their Buildings being Cage-work, the intervals of the Timber being fill'd up with Brick, and therefore very mean*, is frivolous; it being obvious enough to any considering Person, that in a Country where Timber is very cheap, and consequently not so sparingly used as here, the Houses so built, are much exceeding for Beauty, our antient way of Plaister-work betwixt Timber, and even surpassing our modern common way of Brick-Buildings, which are so much inferior to those in the Northern parts for strength, that they generally do not stand half so long, tho' it cannot be denied, that ours for Uniformity and Contrivance, excel theirs. And before we leave this Island of *Zealand*, I cannot but mention also a place called *Roshild*, some Leagues distant from *Copenhagen*, formerly an Episcopal See, the Bishops whereof had the Honour of Crowning the Kings of *Denmark*, and the *Cathedral* here is famous for the Tombs of a great many *Danish* Kings, some whereof are very Sumptuous and Magnificent. And tho' it has been Celebrated again in our Age, for the Peace concluded there *Anno* 1658.

betwixt

betwixt the Two *Northern* Crowns; and it alſo *excels our Town of St.* Albans: yet the Author has not thought fit to name it to us. And ſo I will have done with this Iſland, when I have added this, That beſides a great many other Towns not mentioned, it is computed to contain near 356 Villages. The following Chapter treating of the *Sound*, but more eſpecially of the Toll there at *Cronenburgh*, whereof the Author has given us a large Hiſtory, we will paſs by, as having nothing much remarkable in it, beſides what is mentioned there: and come to the Fourth Chapter, where he treats of the other Iſlands, and *Jutland*. Not to inſiſt here upon ſome Iſlands, which are left out by our Author, though they are more conſiderable than ſome that he has mentioned, we will take them in the ſame Order as he has ſet them down in the Treatiſe; and thus he ſpeaks concerning *Funen*: Funen *is Second to* Zealand, *whether its bigneſs, or the goodneſs of its Soil be conſidered: It has plenty of Corn, Hogs, Lakes, and Woods. The chief Town of it is* Odenſee, *a well-ſeated, and formerly a flouriſhing little City; but at preſent much fallen to decay. This Iſland produces nothing for*

the Merchant to export, except some few Horses, the Inhabitants generally consuming their own Commodities, &c. This is the whole Description he has given us concerning this Island; which being about 190 *English* Miles in Circumference, and containing above 250 Villages, is situated between *Zealand* and *Jutland*; parted from the first by the *great Belt*, and from the latter by the *little Belt*: The chief Town of it was formerly *Odense*, *a flourishing little City*, as this Gentleman says; but yet *much better than St.* Albans; though *Nyburgh* seems now to be the principal City in this Island: which lying opposite to *Corsoer* in *Zealand*, has a capacious and commodious Port, able to harbour a great many stout *Ships*, beyond the Burden of 200 Tuns; as have also likewise *Swenburgh*, *Kartemunde*, *Voburgh*, *Middelfare*, and other considerable Ports here; from whence good store of Barley is transported into *Holland*, and a great quantity of Oxen into other Parts: from whence may appear the Vanity of this Author's Assertion in the Second Chapter concerning the *Danish* Ports, and what he has been willing to perswade us here, That this Island *produces*

nothing for the Merchant to en-

The reſt of the Iſlands mentioned by our Author, being of leſs Conſequence than the reſt, ſeem not to require any Remarks, unleſs what may be ſaid as to their Situation, *Laland*, *Falſter*, and *Monen* lying cloſe together, *South* of *Zealand*, and only are parted from that Iſland by a very narrow Streight, called *Gronevand*: *Laland* being the biggeſt of the three, is alſo the moſt fruitful; the chief Town whereof is *Naskaw*, pretty well fortified, and famous for the long reſiſtance it made againſt the *Swedes*, Anno 1659. *Monen* being but about thirty *Engliſh* Miles in Circumference, did alſo defend it ſelf better in the ſame War againſt the *Swedes*, than any of the bigger Iſlands. *Falſter* lying *South Weſt* from *Monen*, is celebrated for its Plenty, but more eſpecially for the chief place of the Iſland, called *Nieoping*, the greateſt, and beſt built of any place in *Denmark*. In *Langland* the principal Town is *Rudcoping*; *Alſen* is famous for the two Caſtles of *Norburgh* and *Sunderburgh*, which have given Titles to Two Dukes of the ſame Name; and the latter for holding out againſt the Attacks

of *Wrangel*, the *Swediſh* General; that he was thereby obliged to quit whole Iſland. But *Amack*, ſays Author, *deſerves particularly to be membred: This Iſland joins cloſe the City of* Copenhagen, *from which only ſeparated by a ſmall Arm of the which is paſs'd over by a Draw-br and exceeds in fruitfulneſs any ſpot Ground in* Denmark. *This Land given many Years ago to ſeveral Fa of* North Hollanders, *who were pl there to make Butter and Cheeſe for Court*, &c. This Iſland being the of all that lie ſcattered in the Sea, *Zealand*, as having but Fifteen or teen *Engliſh* Miles in Compaſs, may be called the Store-houſe of *Copenha* ſince it furniſhes its Markets abunda not only with all ſorts of good Meat, alſo with Butter, Cheeſe, Hares, meſtick Fowls, and all ſorts of Kitch Herbs, and Salleting. There are in ſeveral Villages, and Three or Four riſh Churches; One of which is only the Poſſeſſion of the *North Holla* granted to them above 150 Years by *Chriſtiern* II. King of *Denmark*: other part of the Iſland being inhab by the *Danes*, I wonder how our

thor could fall into this miſtake, That *the Land was given to the* North Hol-landers, without ſo much as mentioning *the Danes*, who poſſeſs'd the greateſt part of it, and that in the very ſight of *Copenhagen*. And ſo taking our leave of theſe Iſlands, we muſt alſo take into conſideration what our Author has told us concerning *Jutland*; which though it be a Peninſula, yet he has began to treat of it here in the ſame Chapter with the Iſlands. But let us hear his Words: *Jutland, part of the ancient* Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, *is the biggeſt part of the Kingdom of* Denmark, *and may amount about Two Thirds of the whole. It is divided into Four Stiffts-Ampts, or principal Governments. This is a plentiful Country, abounding more eſpecially in Cattle. It wants good Sea-Ports towards the Ocean; notwithſtanding which, the* Hollanders *tranſport yearly great quantities of their Cows and Oxen from hence, to their more fertile Soil*, &c. *The Horſe and Swine of this Country are excellent, and in great quantities. It affords Corn in ſufficient quantity for the uſe of its own People*, &c. *In ſhort, it is the beſt Country the King of* Denmark *is Maſter of, and appears to be leaſt declining, becauſe*

most remote from Copenhagen. *Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.*

Jutland being at this time divided into *North* and *South Jutland*, the Author has given us his Description of the *North* part of it in this Chapter, reserving the *South* Part for the next following. *North Jutland* then is divided into Four Principal Dioceses, or Governments, *viz.* *Alborg*, *Wiburg*, *Arhusen*, and *Ripen*, denominated from the Capital Cities of each Government. And here one might not without good Reason enquire, why this Gentleman has not vouchsafed to us something more concerning these Parts, which he himself calls the *biggest of the Kingdom of* Denmark, and are indeed the most considerable; since under the Diocese of *Ripen* alone, there is reckoned to be near 300 Parishes, Seven Walled Towns, and Ten Royal Cities: But I am apt to believe, he was unwilling to contradict himself in what he had said in the Second Chapter, That *there are no places in* Denmark *much bigger than our Town of St.* Albans; *neither any Sea-Ports capable of harbouring Ships above* 200 *Tun, except* Copenhagen.

It will not therefore be amiss to say a little of each of these places; from

where

whence may appear how miserably this Gentleman has been mis-led by his *grave and sensible Men.* And to begin first with *Aalburg*, which lying most North, is the chief and largest place of this Government, (unto which it has given the same Name) approaching in bigness to *Copenhagen* it self.

It has a good Port capable of containing Ships of a much greater Burthen than 200 Tuns, seated on the South-side of a very large Bay, called *Limfort.* This Bay extends it self all along a great part of the Peninsule, and comprehends within its compass a good large Island, called *Mors.* The second District or Government lying next to this, Southward, is called *Wiburg.* The Capital place whereof is of the same Name, situated on a small River, which runs Northward into the above-named Bay of *Limfort.* It is an Episcopal See, and though but an Inland place, the River being scarce navigable; yet near as big as *Aalburg*: South of this lies the Government of *Aalhuis*, likewise so named from its principal City. This place is situated to the South-East of *Wiburg*, a few Miles above the lesser Belt on the Sea-side, having as commodious a Port

as *Aalburg*, and coming very near to it in bigneſs. Oppoſite to this, *viz.* on the Weſt-ſide of the Peninſule near 60 *Engliſh* Miles diſtant is *Rinkoping*, a moſt famous Sea-port on the *German* Ocean. This with ſome other conveniens Ports lying on the Weſt-ſide of this Peninſule, do contradict manifeſtly what this Gentleman has been pleaſed to tell us in this Chapter, that it *wants good Sea-ports towards the Ocean*, as the above-mentioned Cities do ſhew the Vanity of what he pretended to perſwade us in the ſecond Chapter, concerning the want of Sea-ports in *Denmark*, and that no place here were *better than our Town of St. Albans*. The fourth and laſt of theſe Northern Dioceſes, is called *Ripen*, it is the largeſt of theſe four; its Capital City is called likewiſe *Ripen*, being an Epiſcopal See, ſituated on the Weſt-ſide of the Peninſule, near the *German* Ocean, being defended by a well fortified Caſtle. Among other Towns here is a place called *Fredericks Ode*, deſerves to be taken particular notice of. This though well fortified to the Land ſide, and provided with Palliſado's near the Sea-ſide; yet was ſurprized *Anno* 1657. by the *Swediſh* General *Wrangel*, who, with his

Men

Men in the Night-time, beating down the Palliſado's, and paſſing through the Waters, took it by ſtorm; where above 3000 were ſlain, and 2000 taken Priſoners, beſides Officers, and a great ſtore of Ammunition and Plunder. A few Miles from this place is alſo a good Sea-port called *Calding*, with a ſtrongly fortified Caſtle called *Arnsberg*, where is paid the Toll for the Horſes and Oxen, which paſs this way for *Germany* in great Quantities; ſo that it is a manifeſt Error in our Author, when he ſays, that only *lean Cows and Oxen are tranſported* from this Peninſule to *Holland*; ſince beſides theſe a prodigious Number of fat Oxen, very good Horſes, and the beſt Hogs are ſent from hence by Land into *Germany*, and a conſiderable Quantity of Corn and Fiſh, is from the abovementioned Ports tranſported into *Holland*, and other adjacent Countries.

The reaſon this Gentleman has been pleaſed to give, why *Jutland* appears leaſt declining, *becauſe moſt remote from Copenhagen*, as it ſavours a little of Malice, ſo it may perhaps take with ſome inconſidering Perſons. But to the more judicious it will be evident enough, that if this point of its appearing leaſt declining

ſhould

should be granted; which however it is not, since near *Copenhagen*, the Country appears in as good a Condition as here; yet the difference arises chiefly from thence, what our Author had said a little before, That *this is a plentiful Country, abounding more especially with Cattle*; to which I have added, that it has also convenient Ports, and abounds with more Commodities for Exportation. And that this is the true Cause of its appearing least declining, may be gathered out of the Authors own Words in this very Chapter; where he says, *The Land is more fertile near the Seas coasts, the Inland being full of Heaths, Lakes and Woods*; and truly in these places, *Jutland* makes no better appearance than *Zealand*. I could also assign this for one reason among others, that the Peasants in general here, being not Vassals to the Nobility as they are in *Zealand*, might contribute much to this Appearance; but as the first is most evident, so I think it may convince all unbyass'd and judicious Persons, how impartial this Gentleman has been in his pretended Account of *Denmark*. In the V. Chapter, which he entitles, *Of the rest of the King of Denmark's Territories*, he begins with

the

the Dutchy of *Sleswick* thus; *The Dutchy of* Sleswick *is in general a very good Country; its conveniant Situations between two Seas, the Ocean and the Baltick, rendring it considerable for Trade; although the natural Commodities fit for Exportation, are in no great Quantity. Some Corn, Cattle, Horses and Wood for firing, it affords to its Neighbours, over and above a sufficient store of such for its own Inhabitants. It is divided between the King and the Duke of* Holstein. *The principal Town, which gives name to the Dutchy, belongs to the Duke of* Holstein, *who resides near it in his Pallace of* Gottorp, *&c.* This is all that this Gentleman has thought fit to afford us concerning the Dutchy of *Sleswick*, which being the South part of *Jutland*, comprehends a large and fruitful Tract of ground, adorned with a great many fair Cities, and commodious Sea-ports; whereas he hath taken up more with the Description of the Resident place of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*; which as it does not belong to the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions; so it is much inferiour (though else a very fine Seat) to some of the King of *Denmark*'s, which either are not mentioned at all by the Au-

Author, or else represented much less advantageous. It must needs be a great Wonder to any Body that knows these Countries, how he should make a Digression to describe the Residence of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, and neglect to remember here a goodly Town, called *Hadersleben*, situated in the same Dukedom near the Baltick, and beautified with the fair Castle of *Hansburg*, begun to be built by *John* the Eldest Son of *Christiern* I, and finished by *Frederick* II, this present King of *Denmark*'s great Grandfather. Not to mention here *Apenrade* and *Tondern*; the first whereof lies on the Baltick, as the Second is situated near the *German* Ocean; certainly the Town of *Flensbourgh* with its Castle, might have deserved to be remembred as well as *Gottorp*, except he was afraid of contradicting what he said before concerning the want of Harbours in *Denmark*, which were capable of harbouring a *Ship of* 200 *Tuns*; it being notorious that this place situated on a Bay of the Baltick Sea, called *Hever* Bay, has so deep and commodious a Port, that it not only receives Ships of a far greater Burthen; but also the same lye up close to the Houses almost every where,

where, as they do at *Wapping*, and other adjacent parts of the *Thames*. It would, I think, not have been amiſs to have deſcribed here, that Tract of Ground, which lying betwixt *Sleſwick* and *Flensburgh*, goes to this Day by the Name of *Anglen*; and the Inhabitants of it are called *Engel Saxen*, who being eſteemed the Remnants of one of thoſe three Nations, that ſetled here, this Kingdom has particularly derived its Name from them. The River *Eyder* alſo, which divides the Dukedoms of *Sleſwick*, and *Holſtein*, ought not to have been forgot, ſince it was the ancient Boundary betwixt the *Saxons* and *Danes*. And ſince this Gentleman is ſo ſtrangely taken in the next Chapter with the ancient *Goths*, I cannot deviſe why he ſhould not have remembred a piece of Work of their Poſterity extant in this Country, ſomewhat reſembling that ancient *Roman* Work in our Iſland, called *Pict's-wall*.

This is a long Trench and Wall which was built about the Year 809, in the Times of the Emperour *Charles* the Great, by *Gotricus*, then King of *Denmark*, to hinder the Incurſions of the *Saxons*. The Tract of this Work is eaſily to be ſeen yet in a great many places

ces within a few Miles South of *Sleswick*, and is by the Inhabitants called *Dane-mark* to this Day, and reported, that it did reach from the one Sea to the other. These matters, as also a great many others, having a near relation to our ancient times, the Author did either think not worth mentioning, or else those *grave* Men who instructed him, were not so *sensible* as he describes them in his first Chapter. But it is time also to see what he says concerning *Holstein*, these are among others his Words. *The Country*, (meaning Holstein) *is very fruitful and pleasant, excellently well seated for Trade, lying between the two Seas, and having the advantage of the Neighbourhood of the River* Elbe, *and of* Hamburgh, &c. Stormar *and* Ditmarsh, he says, *lie the nearest to the River* Elbe, *and are for the most part low and rich Countries; the soil being fat, and in many places resembling* Holland, *as well in its fertility, as manner of improvement*, &c.

This is all the Account the Author gives us of *Holstein*, (besides what he says of its being divided into several Branches) which Country, considering the ancientness and number of its Nobility, the variety and fertility of Ground, num-

ber

ber and consequence of its Cities and Towns, would have deserved also a more particular Description: But since he has told us in the First Chapter, That he did include *in this Account the Duchy of* Slesvick, *as part of* Denmark, *but not the Duchy of* Holstein; *because the former was a Fief of that Crown, the latter of the Empire*; and our Remarks being limited by the Account he has given of *Denmark*, we will only add, That *Holstein* being divided into Four Principal Parts, *viz. Ditmarsen*, *Holstein*, properly so called, *Stormar*, and *Wagerien*, the Author has not mentioned the last of all, though that famous City of *Lubeck* lies in the same, as that of *Hamburg* is situated in *Stormaren*; each of which would deserve a particular Description, if the Nature and Bounds of these Remarks would permit us to undertake it.

What he has said concerning the Country of *Oldenburgh*, is not much to be said to, only to remember, that it is not only that sort of *Cream-coloured Coach-Horses* he speaks of, that abound there; but that there is also in that Country so excellent a breed of all sorts of Horses, introduced some Years ago by

by *Anthony Gunter*, the last Count of Oldenburgh, that I much question, whether the like, both in number and quality, can be found in *Europe* in so small a spot of Ground.

Concerning *Norway*, the Author having given a pretty regular account, we will say no more of it, but that it is not destitute of Corn; since *Tellemarch*, *Hedemarch*, and *Gouldbrands Dual*, afford considerable Quantities of Corn. The like is also to be found about *Drontheim*; and when I have once more put him in mind, that the City of *Bergen* in *Norway* is one of those *which are much better than our Town of St.* Albans, *and is capable of harbouring Ships of a much greater Burthen than* 200 *Tuns*: I will take my leave of him as far as he describes the Territories of *Denmark*; and go on to the following Chapters, where he treats of the Form of Government, and other Matters. Yet, before I conclude, I cannot but mention here, that as, out of what has been said in these Remarks upon the foregoing Chapters, it is evident that *Denmark* is generally a fertile Country, abounding in Corn, and pasture-grounds for the feeding of Oxen, and Horses, of both which kind prodigious

Quantities

quantities are sent yearly into *Germany* and other parts; that their Forrests and Woods feed innumerable Herds of Swine of the best kind, so I cannot sufficiently admire with what confidence this Gentleman can conclude this Chapter with these words; producing (meaning *Denmark* in general) but few Commodities for the Merchant. But 'tis time to supersede to say any thing further of this point, and to see what he says in the VI. Chapter, concerning their Form of Government, his words are these, *The Antient Form of Government here, was the same which the* Goths *and* Vandals *Established in most, if not all parts of* Europe, *whither they carried their Conquests, and which in* England *is retained to this day for the most part. 'Tis said of the* Romans, *that those Provinces which they Conquered, were amply recompenced for the loss of their Liberty, by being raised from their Barbarity to Civility; by the introduction of Arts, Learning, Commerce & Politeness. I know not whether this way of arguing have not more of Pomp than Truth in it; but with much greater reason may it be said, that all* Europe *was beholding to these People for introducing or restoring a Constitution of Government far excelling all others, that*

we know of in the World. 'Tis to the Antient Inhabitants of these Countries, with other Neighbouring Provinces, that we owe the original of Parliaments, formerly so common, but lost within this last Age, in all Kingdoms, but those of Poland, Great Britain, *and* Ireland. And in the *Preface* he speaks to the same purpose; which we will consider in this place, because it explains what he has said just now. These are his words, *All* Europe *was in a manner a free Country till very lately, in so much that the* Europeans *were, and still are distinguished in the* Eastern *parts of the World, by the name of* Franks. *In the beginning small Territories or Congregations of People, chose Valiant and Wise Men to be their Captains or Judges, and as often depos'd them upon mismanagement. These Captains doing their Duty well and faithfully) were the Originals of all our Kings and Princes, which at first, and for a long time, were every where Elective. According to their own Warlike temper, or that of the People which they Governed, they (upon the score of Revenge, Ambition, or being overthrown with multitudes at home) encroached upon their Neighbours, till from petty Principalities, their Countries waxed to mighty Kingdoms.* Spain *alone consisting of twelve*

or

of thirteen till 'tother day, and one part of our Island of no less than seven: Each of these was at first made through an Union of many petty Lordships. Italy from several small Commonwealths was at length swallowed up by the Emperors, Popes, Kings of Spain, Dukes of Florence, and other lesser Tyrants. Tet 'tis to be remarked, that the Antient States of Europe is best preserved in Italy, even to this day, notwithstanding the Encroachments which have been there made on the Peoples Liberties; of which one reason may be, that the Republicks which are more in Number and Quality in that spot of ground, than in all Europe besides, keep their Ecclesiasticks within their due bounds, and make use of that Natural Wit which Providence and a happy Climate has given them, to curb those, who if they had Power, would curb all the World. Every one ought to know how great the Rights of the People were very lately in the Elective Kingdoms of Sweeden and Denmark; how Germany was freer than any other part of Europe, till at length 'twas Lorded by Captains which in process of time grew Princes and Electors, and by Bishops with Temporal Authority, who may thank Charles the Great, (a bigotted Prince) for the double Sword of Flesh and Spirit.

In this Paſſage, the Author pretends to give us an Account of the Origine, Growth, and Alterations of Government, he pretends give us a ſhort Hiſtory of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Germans*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*; nay, even *Engliſh*, *Sweeds*, *Danes* and *Poles*, and all this in a few Pages, which great Authors before in whole Volumes, have ſcarce been able to effect to the purpoſe: But that which is moſt pleaſant, is, that he having entangled himſelf among his Antient *Goths* and *Vandals*, and their moſt admirable Conſtitutions, has not given himſelf leiſure to look rightly into our latter times, elſe he could ſcarce have fallen into ſuch a Paradox as to affirm, *That in* Italy *the Republicks are more in Number & Quality, than in all* Europe *beſides*. When I did read theſe words to ſome Gentlemen, who had Travelled in thoſe as well as other parts of *Europe*, and were come to paſs a little time in the Country, they did cry out aloud, *riſum teneatis amici*; and I remember that a certain *Myn Heer*, who ſeem'd to be well vers'd in thoſe Countries, could not forbear ſaying, according to his Native blunt way, That ſurely this Gentleman muſt not have ſeen much of *Europe*, or elſe have ſlept by day, and

and never Travell'd but by night; since if he had but walk'd through the ſtreets of *Amſterdam* in the day time, and conſidered with what vaſt Charges that City had been built, the ſtupendiouſneſs and vaſtneſs of its Fortifications, which together with a large Mote all Brick'd round, comprehended above 1000 Acres of Ground, the Magnificence and Regularity of the Houſes and Gardens in and about that City; as alſo that prodigious number of Shipping of all ſorts, which was obvious enough to every Body's Eye, he might from thence have taken an occaſion to inquire better into the Power and Wealth of this Commonwealth, before he had made this Aſſertion concerning his *Italian* Republicks. He ought, ſaid the *Amſterdamer* (for ſo I underſtood afterwards he was) have caſt his Eyes upon the two *Jews* Synagogues at *Amſterdam*, whereof one is far exceeding, not only thoſe at *Rome* and *Venice*, but alſo all the reſt in *Europe*; he ought to have look'd upon that famous *Stadthuyſe* there, with the large Magazin of Arms by it; upon thoſe moſt excellent Statues a top of it, eſpecially that of *Atlas* bearing upon his Shoulders the Globe which holds 30 Barrels of Water: He ought

to have view'd the extraordinarineſs of the Globes Cœleſtial and Terreſtial, laid in the Floor of the Great Hall, together with the reſt of the Rarities of Pictures, Carved Works and Marble Statues there: He ought to have made an exact Obſervation concerning the great Number and Splendor of their Alms-Houſes in this City, which being like Princes Palaces, maintain 20000 Poor *per diem*; as alſo the Multitude, Largeneſs, and Magnificenſe of their Bridges and Channels, which are to be found in every ſtreet, and fac'd every where with Brick and Square Stone-work, and other innumerable advantages which this City enjoys, and are all acquired with vaſt Charges and great Induſtry; and then he would eaſily have been able to find out, that if *Venice* boaſts of its Channels which divide, and Bridges which unite their City; if *Genova* is proud of her Magnificent Buildings, *Amſterdam* ſurpaſſes the firſt, and is not behind hand with the latter in either kind; But, ſaid he, if this Author have made a due enquiry and have been inſtructed, that *Amſterdam* is the Magazeen of *Europe* for Corn and Spices, the latter of which the *Venetians* formerly brought by Land through

Ægypt,

Egypt, that it has a inconceivable ſtore of all manner of Proviſions for War, and more ſtore of ſaw'd and prepar'd Timber for Shipping, than can be found in any one Nation beſides in the World; how it has the vaſteſt Magazeens of Marbles whereof *Verſails* it ſelf has been built; how it is the Emperor's Staple of Quick-ſilver, and that from hence, not only *Spain*, but alſo almoſt whole *Europe* and the *Indias* are furniſhed; if he had been duly informed, what vaſt quantities of Wines, Brandies, Hemp, Pitch and Tar are to be found here, beſides the prodigious Stores for Shipping which are laid up in the Admiralty and *Eaſt-India* Houſes, and are almoſt incredible to be related; how great a ſhare *Amſterdam* bears in the Charges of ſuch a War as the United Provinces now wage with the reſt of the Confederates againſt *France*; and how at laſt the Bank of *Amſterdam* is the moſt conſiderable in *Europe*, and the World, and ſo much ſurpaſſing both theſe of *Venice* and *Genoua* (the only two Commonwealths now in *Italy*, worth mentioning) that theſe of *Amſterdam* writes more in one day, than theſe of *Venice* and *Genoua* together do in two: He might from thence have eaſily been con-

vinced concerning the Vanity of his Supposition. The whole Company could not forbear smiling at the eagerness, wherein this Gentleman had represented the advantages of his Native place, when it was objected to him by one, who particularly well seem'd to understand the *Italian* Commonwealths; That it was scarce to be deny'd, but that *Amsterdam* alone, for Wealth and Trade, did surpass all the Commonwealths in *Italy*, yet that he had not consider'd what large Possessions the *Venetians* had on the *Terra firma*, and in the *Morea*, besides what belongs to them in *Candia* and *Dalmatia*, and what a considerable Tract of Ground were in the Possession of the *Genuese*, all along the Sea side about that City, to all which *Amsterdam* could not pretend to, as having very small Territories belonging to it. The *Amsterdammer* was a little startled at this unexpected Objection, but quickly recollecting himself, he answer'd, That the Wealth of *Amsterdam* was such as to be able to purchase the Territories of all the *Italian* Commonwealths whatsoever. And said he, since this may seem a hard saying in the Opinion of some, who have not been so inquisitive in this matter, I will shew you another Commonwealth within the Commonwealth of

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the United Provinces, and whose chief strength is lodged within the City of *Amsterdam*, which easily may be proved to exceed all the Commonwealths of *Italy* together, in Trade, Strength, and extent of its Territories, and this is the *East India* Company in *Holland*. This is easie to be believed by these who will consider, said he, what vast and rich Possessions this Company has in the Island of *Java*, where in the Capital City called *Batavia*, Built and Fortified after the manner of *Amsterdam*, the General of the *Indies* lives like a Prince attended with his Horse and Foot-Guards, and assisted by his Councellors; what a vast Trade it has in *Japan*, *China*, the *Isles* of *Sumatra* and *Bengala*, in the two latter of which the Company has also here Lodges and vast Store-Houses, as he has likewise on the Coast of *Malabar*, and *Cormandel*, and in the Countries of the *Great Mogul* and King of *Galcanda*. How in the *Moluccs* and *Banda Islands* she is almost become Master of all, as in the rich Island of *Zealon*, she has all the plain Country under her Jurisdiction, having obliged the Emperor to live in the *Mountains*, while she is possessed of *Columba* and other Garisons there. These

places

places being maintained by 30000 Men and 200 great Ships, whereof 50 are Capital ones, which are in constant Pay of the Commonwealths, of the *East Indias* and Transport yearly such prodigious Riches from those parts into the six Chambers of *Amsterdam*, *Zealand*, *Delph*, *Roterdam*, *Horne*, and *Enckhuysen*, from whence they are dispersed again through whole *Europe*. I will, said the Gentleman, leave it to the Judgment of Understanding Men in this matter, whether all the Commonwealths of *Italy* put together, can produce any thing like it. All the Company was much delighted to hear with what dexterity this Gentleman pleaded the Cause of his Native Country, unto whom I replied, That since it was obvious enough that the Strength and Power of all the Republicks that are now adays in *Italy*, was in no ways to be compared with *Holland*; I could not but be of Opinion, that what our Author had said concerning the *Quality* of these Republicks, was meant concerning their Policy, and, when the *Amsterdammer*, interrupting me, answered, That, tho' he saw me willing to help, as the saying was, *A lame Dog over the Stile*, yet if I would but look upon

upon the Author's paſſage where the words, *more in Number and Quality* were joyned together, I might eaſily find what his meaning were, and that one was as extravagant as the other. For, ſaid he, what is more evident to any judicious Traveller, than the great difference there is betwixt the number of Republicks in *Italy* and betwixt the reſt of *Europe*. Not to ſpeak of the ſeven United Provinces, which are each of them a ſeparate Commonwealth, but joyned by a mutual Confederacy; are not the *Switz Cantons* and other Commonwealths ſufficiently known to outnumber all the Republicks in *Italy*, and to poſſeſs great Territories? What Traveller can be ſo ignorant as not to have heard or ſeen, that conſiderable number of Commonwealths, which are remaining to this day in *Germany* only, is *Venice*, *Genoua*, *Lucca*, and one or two more not worth mentioning, equal in number to all theſe. And if we ſhould add that *Bologna* which retains ſomething of its Antient Freedom under the Juriſdiction of the Pope; and that of *Vinzenza* under the Government of the *Venetians*; nay, even the three ſmall Leagues of the *Griſons*, laying on the utmoſt Borders of *Italy*, all theſe will not amount

mount to the number alone of the Commonwealths now in being in *Germany*. This may be easily computed if we remember but the chiefest of them; as *Hamborough*, *Bremen*, *Lubeck*, *Embden*, *Frankford* on the *Mayn*, *Cologne*, *Worms*, *Ratisbon*, *Augsburgh*, *Eger*, *Nurenburg*, *Ulm*, *Oppenheimb*, *Nordlinger*, and the greatest part of the two Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, besides others; and considering that *Hamborough* *Nurenburg*, *Collen*, *Frankford* and *Bremen*, come very near in bigness even to the best Commonwealth in *Italy*; that the Bank of *Hamborough* comes next to those of *Venice* and *Genoua*, and surpasses either of them in Trade and Shipping; that *Bremen* and others come very to them in Trade now; and what great Territories some of them possess; it is evident enough that if our Author, instead of *Europe*, had but said *Germany*, yet it would have been taken for a *Rodomontado* by all Travellers, especially those who have made a due comparison betwixt the Frontier Places and Garisons of the *Venetians*, and the vast Fortifications and considerable Forces. which are maintained by these abovementioned Commonwealths in *Germany*.

But at last, said the *Dutchmen*, supposing

posing I should be willing, according to your opinion, to apply the Author's word *Quality* to the Policy of the Commonwealths of *Italy*, in comparison of all the rest in *Europe*, who is so ignorant, as not to know that a great many of them enjoy a much greater share of Liberty (as being democratical) than any of his *Italian* Republicks; and tho' some of the *Swiz* Cantons have modell'd their Government somewhat according to the *Venetians*; yet some in *Germany*, & especially the Seven United Provinces, tho' Aristocratical do enjoy a so much higher Degree of Liberty before the *Venetian* Subjects, generally speaking, that if in those parts the Countryman should be a Vassal to his Baron or Lord, the Gentlemen should be squeez'd continually, and oppress'd by one *Potestate* or another; and in general, the Nobility again in constant fear of an Inquisition, they would not like to change theirs with the *Venetians*; and I believe that all our Author's Rhetorick would not be sufficient to perswade them; but that their new way of living free were much to be preferred before his antient *Gothick* way of Governing. But it is time to break off this Dialogue, and to consider what our Author further says concerning the antient *Goths* and *Vandals*, whom

whom he makes the Fundators of that ſort of Government in *Europe*, as is now, for the moſt part retained in *England*, and ſays, *That we owe the Originals of Parliaments* to them. I know not whether this Aſſertion have not more pomp than truth in it, (to make uſe of his own words, which he has given us concerning the *Romans*) ſince, if we look rightly into the Matter, the Government of theſe Nations when they at firſt extended their Conqueſts over *Spain*, *Africa* and *Italy*, as the *Franks* did over *France*, and the *Saxons* over *England*, being wholly adapted to Military Enterprizes; there was, it's true, commonly a General choſen by the Army, and the Heads of the ſame were admitted to all Debates; yet was it in no ways to be compared with what of latter years has been called a Parliament, If we peruſe what the antient Authors have left us concerning their way of Government at home we may conjecture what it was abroad. Conſidering then the moſt antient way or cuſtom of theſe People (which were *Germans*) It is manifeſt enough, That they were divided in a great number of Commonwealths, whereof each had one whom they called ſometimes a King, ſometimes a Duke; Theſe being

again

again subdivided in Petty Governments (*a.*) had their Heads, to whom they paid some sort of Respect at pleasure. At home Matters of no great Concerns were debated, and adjusted by the Chief or Heads (*b.*) but those of moment the whole Body of the People consulted about, and determined even as far as Capital Matters went. As one of these Commonwealths was rarely in a Condition to undertake any foreign War; so the same was always begun with the joynt Consent of such as intended to engage themselves in the same; when a General (without regard to his Nobility sometimes) (*c*) was chosen, who

(*a*) Cæsar. *lib.* 4. *De Bello Galico Suviorum Gens bellico fissima Germanorum omnium; Iri centum pagos haber dicuntur: Ex quibus quotannis singuli milia armatorum bellandi causa, suis ex finibus educunt. eliqui domi manent. Pro se atque illis Colunt. sed privati & separati agri apud eos nihil est: Neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa, licet. Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt multumque sunt in venationnibus. Què res & cibi genere & quotidiana exercitatione & libertate vitæ (quod a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina assue facti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant) & vires alit & immani corporum magnitudine efficit.*

(*b.*) *Corn Tacit. de morib. Germ.. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes, ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non semel nec jussi conveniunt, sed & alter & tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turba placuit, considunt armati. Mox Rex vel Princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur auctoritate suadenda magis, quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernatur, sin placuit frameas asconcutiunt. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque & discrimen capitis intendere.*

Ibid. (*c.*) *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Et duces exemplo quotius, quam imperio, si prompti sint, si conspicui, si antecedentem agant, admiratione præsunt. Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, nisi Sacerdotibus, permissum.*

(*d.*) ibid. *Nullus Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem, connexis & cohærentibus ædificiis. Suam quisque domum spatio circumdat.*

with the Advice of the Heads of those several Commonwealths, that were partakers of the Troubles and Dangers of the War was fain to act rather precariously than with Authority. And considering that Cities, nay, even Villages were unknown to them (*d.*) that they changed their Habitations as often as they found an opportunity, or disliked the former; that their Fences were horrible Forests, and impassable Mountains and inaccessible Moores; what wonder if their Custom of Governing (for Laws they had none) were according their wild Inclinations, and *Savage* Habitations. But to deduce the Originals of Parliaments, used in the best regulated Governments of *Europe* from the Barbarous and Irregular Conventions of a Savage People; when we may have them from better Hands, I must confess, is a way that favours a little too much of a conceit of unknown Antiquity. I see no reason why we might not with the same Right, or perhaps more affirm that the *Cosarcks* upon the Frontiers of *Poland*; the *Rascians* in *Bosnia*, and *Morlacks* in *Dalmatia* have their Parliaments, since it is certain they are as free as ever the *Germans* were, and have their way of consulting together under their Heads as well, and that more orderly than those had in antient times.

Never-

Nevertheless it can scarce be denied, but that *Spain* and *France*, which were the first places whither those barbarous Nations extended their Conquests, have been very Instrumental in first shewing to the other Nations in *Europe* the Parliamentary way. These two Nations being a great deal sooner and more known to the *Romans* than the *Germans*, we have receiv'd a more perfect and authentick Account concerning them; And as they were sooner and better Civiliz'd than the *Germans* in those Times, so their Government was more regular, and coming a great deal nearer to these most excellent Conventions, afterwards called Parliaments. The *Spaniards* were, it's true, divided into a great many Commonwealths, or separate Governments; but these were more *Aristocratical* than *Democratical*, having sometimes their petty Kings, Princes or Senate; and as they had a great many well fortified Cities, Towns and Sea-ports; so had the most Civilized Provinces their Capital Cities, where the Prince that governed the rest, together with their Principals did reside, and had a great, though limited Power over them. Of

Liv. Hist. Rom. lib. 21. 24. 28. Cæs. lib. de bell. Hisp.

this is a very remarkable Instance related by *Livy*: from whence may be conjectured in how great a Veneration the Name and Authority of Kings

Liv. Hist. Rom. Lib. 27. C. 19. among these People, when they would have proclaimed *Scipio* a King; which he refusing, says the Historian, they were surprised how he could refuse the highest Degree of Dignity, which all the rest of Mortals were so covetous of. The ancient *Gauls*, adjoining on

Circumfusa inde multitudo Hispanorum & ante deditorum & pridie captorum Regem tum ingenti consensu appellavit. Tum Scipo, silentio per praeconem facto, sibi maximum nomen Imperatoris esse dixit, quo se milites sui appellassent. Regium nomen alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile ad esse. Regalem animum in servo, si id in hominis ingenio amplissimum ducerent, tacite judicarent. Vocis usurpatione distinctos. Censere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi: Cujus miraculo nominis alii mortaleos stuperent, tam aspernantis. Dona inde Regulis principibusq; Hispaniae divisa, & ex magna copia captorum equorum trecentos, equos tegere judibilem jussit.

one side to *Spain*, as they were no unacquainted with the *Spaniards*, having sometimes there under the *Carthaginians*, sometimes under the *Romans*, and having even extended their

Caes. de bell. Gall. Lib. 1. 2. 3. Conquest thither, as may be seen by the *Celtiberians*, who came out of *France* into *Spain*; so they had questionless a great part of their Policy from thence,

thence, it being evident that they had their Kings, Princes, Senate and Nobility, who did Command over such several distinct Commonwealths, as they were divided into: And as they, according to the Method of the *Spaniards*, had their well regulated Councils, consisting of their principal Men, so they had their fortified Towns, where their Kings, Princes and Magistrates generally resided, who had a power much beyond what was usual then in *Germany*, nay, even of Life and Death, and were not depending on the Popularicy, but some of them according to their Laws and Constitutions, were Hereditary. How much more polish'd these People were than the *Germans*, and how much more regular their Councils; *Cæsar* has (a) left us a notable Instance concerning the *Helvetians* in his Commentaries; Where he tells us, That after the Defeat of the *Helvetians*, there was a Register found written in the *Grecian* Tongue in their Camp, wherein was contained a most

Cæs. bell. Gall. lib. 1. 2.

(a) *Cæs. bell. Gall. lib. 1. In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt literis Græcis confectæ & ad Cæsarem perlatæ, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, & item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque, &c.*

exact Account of the Names and Number of such, as according to the Agreement of the Grand Council of the several *Helvetian* Commonwealths, were come to settle themselves in those parts of *France*, where they were defeated by *Cæsar*. (*b*) And much to the same purpose he speaks afterwards concerning those People in *France*, which were then called *Belgæ*, and inhabited those parts of the *Netherlands*, *Normandy* and *Picardy*, which are opposite to our shoar, though at the same time he reckons them the least civiliz'd of all the *French*. Any body that will take the pains duly to compare what *Cæsar*, *Livy* and *Tacitus* have left behind them concerning the ancient *Spaniards*, *French* and *Germans*, will soon be convinc'd, how far the well regulated Policy of the two former in their Cities and Councils exceeded those confused Meetings of the *Germans*, without Order or Command;

(b) *Cæs. lib. 2. bell. Gall.*

De numero eorum omnia se habere exploratas Rhemi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam, quisque multitudinem in Belgarum communi concilio ad id bellum, pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Successiones suos esse finitimos latissimos, feracissimos agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum totius Galliæ Potentissimum, qui quum magnæ partem harum Regionum, tum etiam Britanniæ Imperium obtinuerit nunc esse Regem Galbam: Ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque summam totius belli omnium voluntate deferri.

mand; and which of these may justly claim that Prerogative of having been the Original of these Conventions of the States since called Parliaments. What some object, that these Nations being subdu'd by the *Romans*, had before the *Germans* came thither, lost together with their Liberty, their ancient Constitutions of Government, is very insignificant; Since it may easily be proved, that as all of them did not lose their Liberty, so they retain'd their Constitutions. Who can be ignorant that a great many Commonwealths, both in *Asia* and *France*, were not Conquer'd by the *Romans*; but were receiv'd as Allies, and proved very instrumental in subduing the rest? (c) And yet among these also that were subdu'd, it was a common Custom among the *Romans* to let them enjoy their Laws, and even to confirm their Kings and Princes. *Cæsar*

(c) *Cæsar. lib. 1. bell. Gall. Orat. ad Ariovist. Multa à Cæsare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset, & neq; sibi neq; Populi Rom. consuetudinem pati, ut optime meritos suos desereret; neq; se putare Galliam esse potius Ariovisti quam Populi Rom. bello superatos esse Arvernos & Rutenos à Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus Populus Rom. ignovisset, neque in provinciam redegisset, neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectare oporteret, Populi Rom. justissimum esse in Gallia Imperium; si judicium Senatus servari oporteret, liberam se debere Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.*

call'd the *French* that inhabited the Neighbouring Provinces of the *Rhine*, the Allies of the *Romans*; and said that *France*, according to the Decree of the Senate, ought to enjoy its Liberty and Laws (*d*). And when he afterwards returned the second time out of *Britanny*: and had occasion to lay his Army into Winter quarters among the *Belgæ* or *Armoricans*, subdu'd by him before, he call'd a general Council together of these several Commonwealths, where he intended to divide his Forces into Winter quarters: (*e*) And that some of these Commonwealths retain'd their Liberty and Constitutions about 150 Years after *Cæsar*'s time; *Tacitus* has left us a particular Observation concerning some of them, that lived near the *Rhine*. It

(d) *Cæs. lib. 5. bell. Gall. Concilio Gallorum Sambrigiæ peracto quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia, propter ficcitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis, exercitum in hybernis collocare, legionesque in plures Civitates distribuere, &c. Unam legionem quam proximè trans Padum conscripserat, & Cohortes V. in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam & Rhenum, qui sub Imperio Ambiorigis & Catevulci erant, misit.*

Tacitus de moribus Germanor. (e) *Ubii transgressi olim & experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur. Omnium harum gentium præcipue Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt. Manet honos & antiquæ societatis insigne; Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit, &c.*

would

would be too tedious to relate all that the Ancients have left behind them in their Monuments concerning this Point; out of what has been said, I think, it may easily be seen, that, as the Constitution of Government among the ancient *Spaniards* and *French*, (being composed out of their Kings, the Nobility and principal Men of the Cities,) did come a great deal nearer to the Parliamentary way of consulting in latter Times, than the irregular Proceedings of the *Germans* in those times; So those that will throughly peruse the ancient Historians, will be sufficiently convinc'd, that the same Form of Government was never extinguish'd in all parts of those Kingdoms, but preserved even till the time, when the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Franks*, and others, setled themselves in those parts; so that it may be said, that we owe the first Rudiments of Governing by consent of the Estates to those Countries, which were Conquered afterwards by the *Germans*, but that the same should have been establish'd by them, when they were so many hundred Years before in use there, is, what scarce any body, who is not prepossessed

with the conceit of a *Gothick* and tumultuous sort of Government, will assert. And here, if we should enquire into the Originals of Princes and Kings, (which our Author pretends to have done in a few Lines) at several Times and Places, we should be obliged to go much beyond the design of these Remarks, since to understanding Men it is apparent enough, that if the Author's whole Book, had been employed upon that Point only, it would not have been sufficient so much as to touch the chief Heads of so ample a Subject. I will only say, that I cannot sufficiently admire, why this Gentleman is so mightily taken with these Times, when *Spain* and *England* were divided, the first into thirteen, and the latter into seven or more peculiar Governments, considering that they were perhaps the worst of Times ever those Countries saw; neither could any lasting Peace be setled, till instead of the same, one Head had the Management of the whole Body. But before we leave this Subject, we must say something concerning *Germany* and *Sweden*: *For every one ought to know*, says he, *how great the Rights of the People were*

very

very lately in the Elective Kingdoms of Sweden *and* Denmark: If every one ought to know, he might have said a little more of it, since else few will know it for him. What clear a Notion this Gentleman has concerning Elective Kingdoms, will better appear hereafter, when we shall have occasion to treat upon the Question, *Whither the Kingdom of* Denmark *has been Hereditary or Elective*; But as for the Rights of the People in *Sweden*, why they should so much vary from the same, that they were lately, he would have done well to have explained a little. I am not ignorant, that the Wings of the Nobility, that composed formerly the Senate there, have been considerably clipt, and that about fifteen or sixteen Years ago, when that Kingdom during the Minority of this present King, was partly through Mismanagement, partly through the War with the Empire and *Denmark*, miserably exhausted; the Estates then, finding themselves not in a Capacity to restore matters without extraordinary Subsidies, which could not easily be levied upon the Subjects, did then advise the King, to oblige

such

ſuch of his Subjects as had by the Profuſeneſs of ſome of his Predeceſſors, or other means, acquired to themſelves vaſt Eſtates and other Advantages belonging to the Crown, to reſtore the ſame, which was executed accordingly; ſome of the chiefeſt profering the ſame voluntarily, the reſt being obliged to follow their Example. As by theſe means the King was enabled to reſtore the decayed State of the Militia and Army; ſo it is not to be denied, but that his Revenues were greatly encreaſed, as well as his Power; yet is from hence not neceſſarily to be concluded, that the Rights of the People are loſt, ſince the four Eſtates of the Nobility, Clergy, Citizens and Peaſants, have thereby not ſurrendred any thing of their Native Rights, tho perhaps ſome particular Perſons have felt the ſmart of it. *Germany was freer than any other part of Europe*, ſays our Author, but he ought to have remembred that this was in thoſe days when every body being his own Maſter, there, they liv'd more like the *Tartars* do now, than like any of the reſt of the *Europeans*; And if they had continued in that ſo much admired State of

Liber-

Liberty, I am apt to believe *Germany* would not have come into that flourishing Condition it has been in since. If it was for my purpose here to enlarge me self upon this matter, I could shew easie enough, that these, whom our Author calls *Captains*, *Princes*, *Electors*, *Bishops*, *&c.* were the first Restorers of the Liberty of *Germany*; that they were the Founders of its Greatness, and Upholders of the same after this Country was Conquered by *Charles* the Great. I could shew him, that there were the Bishops in *Germany* before the times of *Charles* the Great, and that those instituted by him, for all their double Sword of Flesh and Spirit, have not been armed sufficiently so to subdue the *Germans*, but that in the most parts the ancient Liberty has been preserv'd under their Jurisdiction, and some have been able to find ways to free themselves quite from it. And thus much I will only say in the Vindication of *Charles* the Great; As he has laid the Foundation of what *Germany* is now (whom our Author makes bold to call bigotted) that as able Headpieces as this Gentleman, and these some what better versed in the

German

German Constitutions than he can pretend to, have so greatly approved of the Methods that that Great Emperor took in uniting so vast a Country both in Laws and Religion, that his vain and confident Assertions will prove ridiculous to all, who have had any true insight into the Affairs of *Germany*. I must add something more concerning *Poland*, which he says, *is the only Kingdom besides this Island and* Ireland, *where Parliaments are not lost*, to shew what sort of Parliament is to be found there, that so every body may be able to judge how far the *Polish* Parliaments do differ from the *English*, both in their Proceedings and fundamental Constitutions. It is therefore to be known, that there are but two sorts of People (besides the King) in *Poland*, that can justly be said to have a Share in the Government, *viz.* the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. The Citizens and Peasants being totally excluded from the same, and being for the most part subjected either to the Clergy or the Nobility, the fewest to the King. And though the Cities in the Regal *Prussia* enjoy a greater share of Freedom, as having their own Constitutions, and sending their Deputies

ties to the Dyet; yet is their Number so inconsiderable, in comparison of the rest, that it scarce comes into Consideration. The King's chief Advantage is, That he has a considerable Revenue allow'd him, and has the chooſing of all the Officers, both Civil and Military; but the Great Officers, especially those who by their Places are Members of the Senate of the Kingdom, as also all the Senators, have their Offices granted them *ad Vitam*; so that when once put in Possession of the same, they have not any Dependance further from the King. The two Archbishops, and other Bishops, as they owe their Promotion chiefly to the Pope, (though they are nominated by the King) and are exempted from the King's Jurisdiction; so they having vast Possessions, which depend only from them, have therefore a great, if not the greatest Sway in the Senate of the Kingdom. But both the Spiritual Lords, as also the rest of the Nobles who compose the Senate, having the Places of the best Profit in their Possession, and maintaining in their Palaces a great many of the poorer

sort

ſort of Nobility, become thereby ſo powerful, that it may juſtly be ſaid, that theſe are the chief Governours of the Realm, ſince the King cannot do any Publick Matter of Moment without them, as being by their Conſtitution his conſtant Adviſers and Directors; the Deputies of the Provinces (who are choſen by the Nobility) being only called together when Matters of the higheſt Moment are to be conſulted, or concluded. Theſe were, in former Times, never to meet, but in caſe of agreeing to a new Tax, reſolved before-hand in the Senate; but within theſe Hundred Years, or thereabouts, their Power is ſo much increaſed, that they claim a Right to be conſulted with in all Publick Matters of great Moment.

The Senate of the Kingdom, which is the conſtant Council of the King, the Members whereof, as I have ſaid, are conſtituted by the King *ad Vitam*, conſiſts firſt of the two Archbiſhops of the Kingdom, of whom the Archbiſhop of *Guieſen* is Primate of *Poland*, having the Power of Adminiſtring the Kingdom in Abſence or in caſe of the Death of the King: After theſe are the

Biſhops,

Biſhops, and ſome Abbots, Thirty Four Governours of Provinces, called Palatines, Eighty Three Governours of Caſtles, or Deputy-Lieutenants of the Palatines called Caſtellans, and Ten of the Great Officers of State, who are in all computed to amount to near an Hundred and Fifty in Number. And are always choſen out of the Nobility; The Clergy among theſe, though the leaſt in Number, yet having more Poſſeſſions than both the King and Nobility, and in no ways depending on them, has the greateſt Sway; and the two Chancellors and Vicechancellors alſo a great Power of Signing and Diſpatching Things without the King's conſent, and refuſing alſo his Orders, if they do not think convenient to obey them, Three of theſe Four being generally Eccleſiaſticks. When with their Advice, the King has reſolved to call together the Dyet, he orders a Convention of all the Nobility to be had in every particular Dioceſe or Government, at a certain Time and cuſtomary Place; where being convened, the Palatine, Caſtellans, and other Senators, having explained to them the Reaſons why the King intended

tended to call a Dyet, and what Time the ſame was to be held, the Nobility of each Dioceſe, after Prayers finiſh'd, chooſe their Deputies; to whom they give Inſtructions concerning the Propoſitions made to them by the Senators, though ſometimes they alſo allow them a larger Authority, which however expires with one and the ſame Dyet, which is not to laſt above Six Weeks, and ſeldom continued much longer. Theſe particular Conventions being over, there are two more Conventions to be held, which they call General Conventions, one whereof is always in *Great Poland*, the other in *Little Poland*; in which two Places, all the Deputies, and ſuch of the Nobility as are pleaſed to come, being again Convened at a certain Time, they there confer together concerning the Propoſitions made by the King, and what Inſtructions they have received thereupon from their ſeveral Provinces. Thus prepared they come to the Dyet, where the Senate being ſeated in a Theatre, the Deputies and Clerks ſtanding by, the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor propoſes in the Name of the

the King ſuch Matters as they are to conſult upon. This done, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ſo all the reſt of the Senate, having given their Votes, the Deputies ask Leave from the King to withdraw, and to conſult concerning the Propoſitions made to them. Their Conſultation being over, they repair again to the Senate; and having given their Opinion concerning the Buſineſs in Agitation, they alſo propoſe ſuch Matters as they think fit to be conſulted about: Which Matters being agreed unto by common Conſent of the Senate and Deputies, the King gives his Conſent laſt of all; which done, it has the Force of a Decree of the Dyet. But if one of the Deputies makes his Proteſtation againſt any Thing, as done in Prejudice of the Liberties and Prerogatives of the Nobility, or the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, the whole Proceeding becomes thereby void, and of no Force.

From hence may be collected, what Difference there is betwixt the Dyets in *Poland* and our Meeting of Parliaments, as well in their Fundamental Conſtitutions, as Manner of Proceed-

ings. And if we conſider how all the Cities and Commons in *Poland* (except the City of *Cracaw*, and a few more in *Pruſſia*) are excluded not only from the Dyet, but alſo all Places of Note, nay that even in the moſt of them the Magiſtracy and whole Corporations are depending on either the Clergy or Nobility; and what prodigious Prerogatives they have acquired to themſelves; as by Example, That a Noble-man Killing a Commoner, ſhall pay but a ſmall Fine; but if a Commoner Kills a Noble-man, it ſhall be Capital: That a Malefactor being a Noble-man, and taken in the Fact, ſhall not be judged by the Magiſtrates of that City or Corporation where he is taken: That the Biſhops, as well as other Noble-men, have their Strong Caſtles, Garriſon'd by themſelves; and a great many the like, of dangerous Conſequence: Theſe, I ſay, duely conſidered by an *Engliſh-man*, will, I am apt to believe, put him very much out of Conceit of *Poliſh* Parliaments; and both the King, as alſo the Cities, Corporations, and Commons of *England*, will have but little Rea-

Reaſon to thank this Gentleman for his comparing the ſame with ours; eſpecially ſince he might have found out other Countries, and that nearer at hand, where the Meeting of the Eſtates come a great deal nearer to our Parliaments.

But leaving to our Author the Advantages of his Ancient *Gothick* and New *Poliſh* Parliaments, we muſt go on, to ſee what he ſays in this ſame Chapter concerning the Form of Government in *Denmark* in particular. Theſe are his Words: Denmark *therefore was, till within theſe Thirty Two Years, govern'd by a King choſen by the People of all ſorts, (even the* Boors *had their Voices;) which King* Waldemar the Third *acknowledged in that memorable Anſwer of his to the Pope's* Nuncio, *who pretended to a great Power over him:* Naturam habemus à Deo, regnum à ſubditis, Divitias à parentibus, Religionem à Romana Eccleſia; quam ſi nobis invides, renuntiamus per præſentes. *The Eſtates of the Realm being convened to that Intent, were to Elect for their Prince ſuch a Perſon as to them appeared Perſonable, Valiant, Juſt, Merciful, Affable,*

a Maintainer of the Laws, a Lover of the People, Prudent, and adorn'd with all other Vertues fit for Government, and requisite for the great Trust repos'd in him; yet with due Regard had to the Family of the preceding Kings. If within that Line they found a Person thus qualified, or esteem'd to be so, they thought it but a piece of just Gratitude to prefer him before any other to this high Dignity, and were pleased, when they had reason to choose the Eldest Son of their former King, rather than any of the Younger; as well, because they had regard to Priority of Birth, when all other Vertues were equal, as because the Greatness of his Paternal Estate might put him above the Reach of Temptations to be Covetous or Dishoneſt, and enable him, in some degree, to support the Dignity of his Office. But, after such a Choice, if they found themselves mistaken, and that they had advanced a Cruel, Vicious, Tyrannical, Covetous, or Wasteful Person, they frequently Depos'd him, oftentimes Banish-ed, sometimes Destroyed him, and this either Formally, by making him Answer before the Representative Body of the People; Or *if by ill Practices, such as making*

of

of Parties, Levying of Souldiers, contracting of Alliances to ſupport himſelf in Oppoſition to the Peoples Rights, he was grown too Powerful to be legally Contended with, they diſpatched him without any more Ceremony the beſt way they could, and Elected preſently a better Man in his Room; ſometimes the next of Kin to him, ſometimes the Valiant Man that had expoſed himſelf ſo far as to undertake the Expulſion, or the Killing of the Tyrant; at other times a Private Perſon of Good Reputation, who poſſibly leaſt dream't of ſuch an Advancement. Frequent meetings of the Eſtates, was a part of the very Fundamental Conſtitution: In thoſe meetings all matters relating to Good Government were Tranſacted: Good Laws were Enacted, all Affairs belonging to Peace or War, Alliances, diſpoſal of great Offices, Contracts of Marriages for the Royal Family, &c. were debated, &c. This was the Ancient Form of Goverment in this Kingdom, which continued with very little variation (excepting that the Power of the Nobles encreaſed too much) till about 32 years ago, when at one inſtant the whole Face of Affairs was changed, &c. It is eaſie for any conſidering Perſon to

gueſs the Conſequences of this, which are Frequent and Arbitrary Taxes, and commonly very Exceſſive ones, even in times of Peace; little regard being had to the occaſion of them: So that the value of Eſtates in moſt parts of the Kingdom is fallen three fourths. And it is worſe near the Capital City, under the Eye and Hand of the Government, than in Remoter Provinces; Poverty in the Gentry, which neceſſarily cauſes extremities of miſery in the Peaſants, Partiality in the diſtribution of Juſtice, when Favorites are concerned, with many other miſchiefs, which ſhall be hereafter more particularly mentioned; being the conſtant Effects of Arbitrary Rule in this and all other Countries wherein it has prevailed.

This Deſcription or Form of Government it is likely the Author has given us in imitation of ſome old Faſhion Romance or other, for I am ſure out of Hiſtory he can bring none that were ever like it; I muſt confeſs that I could ſcarce Read without ſome Indignation, how he had abuſed in a moſt unanſwerable manner, the Laudable Ancient Conſtitutions of the *Danes*, not only, but alſo by ſo doing had taken an Opportunity

portunity to put his Fictitious Suppoſitions; the conceits of his own Brains or ſome States Mountebanks Chimerical Notions for Truth upon the *Engliſh Nation.* What he ſays concerning the Election of their Princes, How *the Eldeſt were preferred before the Younger* out of Courteſie, *if they were equal in Vertues*, as alſo their Adhering to a Line being at pleaſure, might be taken for a vulgar miſtake, ſuch as does ariſe from the neglect of true Hiſtory: The Qualifications, which he ſays, were required in their Princes, might be look'd upon, as an Effect of a Poetical fancy; But what he tells of *frequently Depoſing and Baniſhing, nay even Deſtroying their Kings, either Formally or without Ceremony, by ſome Valiant Hand, who for his Meritorious Act of Killing or Expelling the Tyrant, uſed to Succeed in the Kingdom*: Is ſo much againſt the Practice of the Ancient *Danes* deſcribed in True Hiſtory, that theſe Extravagancies cannot be look'd upon by Judicious Perſons, otherwiſe than ſelf-invented Notions, fitted to the Humour of ſome ſelf-conceited Politicians; but always eſteemed by the more Under-

ſtanding ſort, as moſt pernicious to Human Society. To make this appear the better, what if we ſhould endeavour to ſhow that the Ancient Government of the *Danes* was ſo far from Adhering to ſuch Barbarous Practices, or chooſing their Kings by Courteſie, that the Laws of Succeſſion were ſo Sacred with them, that that Kingdom ought rather to be called Hereditary (if any one ever was, in this Gentleman's Opinion, to be eſteemed as ſuch in *Europe*) than Elective. Not to mention here the times before *Charles* the Great, the Hiſtory of thoſe Countries before that time being infected with many Fabulous Relations, we will begin with the Year 804 *P. C. N.* When *Gotricus* Brother to his Predeceſſor, *Sigifrid* being declared King of *Denmark*, left that Crown to his Son *Olaus*, from whom it always deſcended in the ſame Line to the next Heir, till after the Death of *Margaret* Queen of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, which was about the Year 1414. Thus the Crown of *Denmark* having been in a perpetual Lineal Succeſſion of one Family for above 600 Years, and the ſaid *Margaret* having

no

no Iſſue, ſhe had in her Life time Crowned *Eric* VIII. her Siſters Son, who having left *Denmark*, and reſigned the Crown, after an Anarchy of Six Years, in his Place, was Conſtituted *Chriſtopher* III. *Eric*'s Siſter's Son, who's Mother was alſo Niece to the above named Queen *Margaret*. This *Chriſtopher* dying without Heirs, as did alſo his Siſter before him; the moſt Ancient Race of the *Daniſh* Kings was then extinguiſhed about the Year 1448. Only that there was left *Adolph* VIII. Duke of *Sleſwick*, and Count of *Holſtein*, being Son to a Nephew of *Woldemar* IV. to whom the Crown of *Denmark* being offered by the States, he refuſed the ſame as having no Children. The Crown being thus fallen into the Hands of the States, yet were they ſo Religious in obſerving their Ancient Right of Succeſſion, that they choſe *Chriſtian* Count of *Oldenburg* for their King, as being Son of *Hedwig* Siſter of *Adolph*, Duke of *Sleſwick*, and conſequently being Related to the Family of the Ancient *Daniſh* Kings; his Son *John* Succeeding him, Conſtituted with conſent of the States, his Son *Chriſtian* II.

II. King of *Denmark*, who was afterwards Declared by the States, (who had now acquired a greater power) incapable of the Crown, as having Reigned very Tyrannically over them; and in his ſtead *Frederick* I. Brother of *John* King of *Denmark*, and Uncle to *Chriſtiern*, was made their King. And I think it is a remarkable Inſtance, that even at that time the States of *Denmark* did not eſteem it belonging to themſelves to alter the Succeſſion of the Crown, when they did not only chooſe *Frederick* I. who was Son of *John* King of *Denmark*, but alſo afterwards, in a publick Convention of the ſaid Eſtates, they did promiſe to *John*, Son to the baniſhed King *Chriſtiern*, the Reſtitution of his Fathers Kingdoms, not only, but alſo the immediate Succeſſion after the Death of *Frederick* I. But *John* the Son of *Chriſtiern* II. dying about the ſame time, when *Frederick* I. dyed, the Crown came to his Son *Chriſtiern* III. whom in a direct Line have Succeeded *Frederick* II. *Chriſtiern* IV. *Frederick* III. and *Chriſtiern* V. the preſent King of *Denmark*. Out of theſe Heads, which I have thought fit to mention here, it may

may be evident, whether the Succeſſion of *Denmark* was precarious, as this Author has taken a great deal of pains to perſwade us. And whether this long and conſtant Succeſſion in one Family, were Anciently depending from a free choice or not, will be worth our enquiring into. (a) *Canute* Surnamed the *Hardy*, 1044. having no Iſſue, had by Compact Reſigned the Crown of *Denmark*, after his death, to *Magnus* King of *Norwegan*, who by force of Arms taking poſſeſſion of the ſame, was oppoſed by *Sueno*, *Canute*'s Siſter Son, till *Magnus* after a Reign of Eight Years, coming to dye of a fall from his Horſe: He was declared King of *Denmark*, tho' in no ways beloved of the *Daniſh* Nobility, as having Waged continually War againſt them in the time of *Magnus*; yet being the only one that was left of the Ancient Race of the *Daniſh* Kings, was

(a) *Meurſ. hiſt. Dan. part* 1. *lib.* 3. *Factus igitur Rex Sueno, quem Canuti M. neptem Dan non amore aliquo ducti, ſed neceſſitate coacti, quia è præſapia Regia nemo alius ſupereſſet, Regem ſibi elegerunt.*

(a) *Pontan Rer. Dan. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *ſed Sueno ex ſorore, ut indicavimus, Canuti M. genitus, ſolus ſe Magni conatibus objecit, fretus non tam amicorum præſidiis, quam ſua virtute & aliis, quibus id quod poſcebat, omni ratione deberi exiſtimabat.*

received

received as King of *Denmark*. *(b)* Afterwards when in the Year 1250. *Abel* had caused his Brother *Eric* V. King of *Denmark* to be murthered, tho' the States abominated the Fact, yet *Eric* having left no Children, and he being the Eldest among the Brothers that were left, was made King of *Denmark*, being Preferred before his Younger

(b) *Pont. Rer. Dan. lib. 7. Abelem qui parricidio meruerat ab omni non modo successionis, sed hæreditate quoque jure excludi, Regem creant.* (1.) *Quod nimirum frater ejus Ericus filios sibi superstites nullos reliquisset.* (2.) *Et Abel inter fratres, qui superstites erant, natus esset maximus.* (3.) *Quod metus alias foret, ne Slesvicensem Ducatum, quo potiebatur, a Regno separaret.*

(b) *Meurs. Hist. Dan. Part. 2. Lib. 2. Abelus igitur, fratre Erico per infandum scelus cæso, Regnum occupat; quippe ille nullos liberos reliquerat: Et hic fratrum natu maximus Regno proximus censebatur, &c. Ille datis ad Senatum literis causam suam agere, & de mulcis fratrem accusare, cum testari, illum nullo suo scelere, verum casu, pluribus in scapham desilientibus, periisse. Hæc cum reputarent proceres, Regem sibi necessarium potius quam dignum creant ipsis Kalend. Novembris.*

Brother

Brother *Chriſtopher*, who Reigned after him. How the States did promiſe the Crown to *John* the depoſed *Chriſtiern* II's. Son, after the death of *Frederick* I. has been ſaid before: and how in our Age the States of this Kingdom, let *Frederick* III. the preſent King of *Denmark*, Father upon the Throne in ſpite of a Faction that were for Advancing his Younger Brother, begotten of another Mother and the Second Wife of *Chriſtiern* the IV. to the Royal Dignity, cannot be out of the Memory of ſuch as are acquainted with the Tranſactions of theſe Countries. Beſides, theſe undeniable Examples there are alſo obvious amongſt the Hiſtorians Teſtimonies ſufficient to convince any Body that is not prepoſſeſs'd with a vain conceit of his own opinion, That the Succeſſion was not Anciently depending from the will of the States, but that their Kings had, and did claim a Right to the ſame for themſelves and their Heirs, both Males and Females. When after the death of *Waldemar*, the States declared *Olaus Haquin* and *Margarets*, (King and Queen of *Norway*) Son King

of

of *Denmark* (c) the *Daniſh Hiſtoriographer* gives this among others for a Reaſon, becauſe he was from his Mothers ſide, the next to the Kingdom. And in the ſame Book he has given us an Extract (d) out of the Records, wherein the ſaid *Margaret* Mother to this *Olaus*, and Daughter of King *Waldemar* is called Queen of *Norway* and *Sweden*, and the true Heireſs of *Denmark*. That noted Hiſtorian *Crantius* ſpeaks much to the ſame purpoſe, both of *Olaus* and his Mother *Margaret*. He ſays, that the two Kingdoms of *Denmark* are Hereditary to *Olaus*, and that after the Deceaſe of him, there being no Male Heirs left, all was fall'n to Queen *Margaret*. (d) The ſame Author calls *Siwald* the Firſt, Heir and Succeſſor to his Father King *Ungrin*, in the Kingdom of *Denmark*; and ſpeaks much to the ſame purpoſe of *Broderick*, Son of *Tarmerick* King of *Denmark*. And

(c) *Pontan. Rer. Dan. Hiſtor. Libr. VIII. Olaum Hacquini Norvagiæ & Margaretæ filium Regem declarant, utpote qui matris aſpectu non modo regni proximus eſſet, &c. Pont. Lib. 9. Rer. Dan. Pag. 516. Albert. Crantzius Hiſtor. Norvag. Lib. VII.*

(d) *Crantz. hiſt. Dan. 2. cap. XVII. Broderus filius Jarmerici quem ille deſtinatum ſupplicio priuſquam interiret morte juſſit revocare. Ne omnino Regnum hærede careret.*

And truly the Name of Heir of *Denmark* is ſo frequent in the ancient Hiſtories of *Denmark*, eſpecially before the Times of *Charles* the Great, that it would be infinite to mention them here, ſince even in latter Times the ſame has not been out of date there. *Meurſius* does not only call *Chriſtiern* Son to *Chriſtiern* Heir of that Kingdom, but alſo beſtows the ſame Title upon *John* the Son of the depoſed *Chriſtiern* the II. And here I cannot but inſert the Reaſons, which were alledged by the States of *Denmark*, among others in their Proclamation, for the declaring *Frederick* I. King of *Denmark*, after they had renounced all Obedience to *Chriſtiern* II.; Their Reaſons are theſe, *Becauſe he was the Heir of* Norway, *and had his Off-ſpring out of the moſt glorious Family of the* Daniſh *Kings*; *That He was born a Kings* (Chriſtiern I's) *Son, and that therefore this Honour did belong to him in his own Right before any other Prince, and that he ought to have a Portion or Patrimonial Share out of his Fatherly Kingdom.* From hence I think may be eaſily underſtood, that the States

Meurſ. Lib. I.

Chytr. Saxon.

States of *Denmark*, even in latter Times, (did not aſſume to themſelves the free diſpoſal of the Crown, and that the Succeſſion was not precarious, and as our Author would have it, according to good Behaviour. This will appear more clear to us if we conſider, that the ſame Right of Succeſſion has not only in former, but alſo latter Times, ever ſince the *Oldenburg* Family has ſway'd the Scepter in that Kingdom, been deprived, not only to the next Male Heirs, though Minors, but

but also to the Females and their Off-spring. Of the Female Succession we have Two Instances since the *Oldenburg* Family came to the Crown. The first is, That it was agreed by Marriage Contract betwixt *Christiern* II. and *Isabel*, Sister to the Emperor *Charles* V. *That if they should leave no Male-Heirs behind them, the eldest Daughter should succeed in the Throne of* Denmark. And when afterwards the same *Isabella* followed her Husband in his Exile, after he was deposed, the States did not only recall her, but also promis'd her Obedience; nay, they did declare by a publick Proclamation, That if she would return to the Kingdom, *they would acknowledge her for their Queen and Sovereign Lady.* Which Proffer however, though never so advantageous, she refused to accept of.

Chytr. in Saxon, ad an. 1522.

Of the Female Succession the *Danish* ancient History furnishes us with a remarkable Example in *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Waldemar* IV. who being married to *Haquin* King of *Norway*, after the Decease of her Husband and Son *Olaus*, succeeded them in both the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and reigned for about Thirty Years, about the

Year 1400. And of several Kings of *Denmark*, who came to that Crown by Right of the Female Succession, there are several Examples in their Histories. *Sueno* III. about the Year 1155 succeeded *Canute* IV. he being born from *Margaret*, the Sister of *Canute*, surnamed *The Great*, and not much beloved by the *Danes*, as having to his Father one *Ulpho*, an *Englishman*; yet *being the only One that was left of the Royal Family*, was therefore declared King of *Denmark*: So was *Olaus*, Son to *Haquin*, and *Margaret*, King and Queen of *Norway*, declared King of *Denmark*; *because from his Mother's side, he came from the Race of the* Danish *Kings*, she being Daughter to *Waldemar* IV. King of *Denmark*. This was about the Year 1340. And not long after, *viz.* about the Year 1417. *Eric*, the same *Margaret*'s Sister's Son, succeeded here in the Kingdom upon the same Pretensions, having been by her recieved as a Consort in the *Danish* Empire before. As for the Succession of the next Heirs of the Royal Family in their Minority, several Instances also may be found in the ancient Histories of *Denmark*, as well as these of latter times. *Eric*, about the Year 855. succeeded his Father

Meurs. hist Dan. Part 1. lib. 3. Pontan. Rer. Dan. hist. lib 5.

Crantz. Chron. Dan lib. 8.

Pontan. Rer. Dan. Hist. lib. 1.

ther *Siward* in the Kingdom of *Denmark*, being a very Child; from whence he was surnamed *Barn*; which in the *Danish* Tongue signifies a Child. *Waldemar* I. being constituted King of *Denmark* about the Year 1157. when he was scarce nine Years of Age, is another instance in this kind. *Eric* VII. also Son of King *Christopher* I. and *Olaus* Son of Queen *Margaret*, were both declared and crowned Kings of *Denmark*, before they were come to the Age of Eleven; the first about the Year 1260. the second about the Year 1340. And *Eric*, Queen *Margaret*'s Sister's Son, was by her made Consort in the Government, when he was a Child. Neither has the Succession and Declaration of the next Heirs, though Minors, ceased since the *Oldenburg* Family had the Government of this Kingdom. *Christiern* I. had his Son *John* declared King in his Life time, when he was about the Age of Twelve: Likewise had King *John* his Son *Christiern* declared his Successor when he was not above Six Years of Age. And *Christiern* IV. was at the Age of Seven declared Successor to his Father, King *Frederick*, then living; and having received Homage from the States, actually succeed-

Mewr. hist. Dan. lib. 3.

Pontan. hist. Dan. lib. 9.

Mewr. lib. 1. de gest. Christian II

Mewr. lib. 2. de gest. Joh.

ed him after his Death before he was quite Eleven. Out of the History of the continual Succession of the next Heirs, belonging to the Royal Family of *Denmark*, both Males and Females, and that also in their Minority, it will be no difficult matter to judge, how great the Rights were of the *Danish* Royal Family in the Succession of the Crown; but when I shall have demonstrated that they also had a right of adopting not only, but also by Testament to appoint their Successor, *and even dividing the Kingdom among their Heirs, it will then, I think, be evident*, that scarce ever any Kings in these very Kingdoms, which have been esteemed ways hereditary, could pretend to a greater prerogative.

Cranz. Chron. Dan. l. 8. Pontan. lib. 9. Meurs. Hist. Dan. lib. 5.

An Example of Adoption for the *Danish* Crown, we have in the often before mentioned Queen *Margaret*; who after the Death of her Son *Olaus*, being without Heirs, did not only constitute *Eric* her Sisters Son her Consort and Successor in the *Danish* Empire; but also to make his Title the more firm, did adopt him; and he was as such, received after her Death by the Estates of *Denmark*. An Example of disposing of the Crown, by Testament, *Albert Krantz*

Lib. 2. c. 4. Chron. Dan.

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that Ancient and Celebrated Hiſtorian has given us in the *Daniſh* King *Haldan*, who left by his laſt Will the Kingdom to *Unguin*, which being confirmed by the Eſtates, is mentioned by this Author as an Act without a Precedent in *Denmark* at that time. As for the Diviſion of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, there are ſeveral Examples extant in their Hiſtories. *Canute* I. ſirnamed the great, being King of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, divided in his Lifetime, about the Year 1030, the three Kingdoms, without conſulting the Eſtates, between his three Sons, giving to the Eldeſt *Harald*, *England*; to *Canute*, *Denmark*; and *Norway* to *Sueno*. And having the two Crowns of *England* and *Norway* in his Poſſeſſion by right of Conqueſt; yet he uſed the ſame Power in appointing his Succeſſor in the Kingom of *Denmark*. *Meurſ. Hiſt. Dan. lib.* 3.

The ſecond Inſtance of dividing the Kingdom, is in the Reign of *Waldemar*, about the Year 1170, Who having called together the Eſtates *at Samſoe*, he had his Son *Waldemar* crowned King of *Denmark*. After which another Son being born to him, who's Name was *Eric*, he declared him Duke of *Sleſwick*, and to *Canute* another Son of his he aſ- *Meurſ. Hiſt. Dan. Cont. l.* 1.

ſigned *Laland*. But *Waldemar* the younger, not long after his Coronation happening to die by a Miſchance which he got in Hunting; King *Waldemar* made a new Diviſion among the reſt of his Sons, and before he died exhorted them to Unity; alledging that to the beſt of his Power, he had equitably divided the Kingdom among them. And the ſeveral Provinces ſo aſſigned by King *Waldemar*, to his Son, were afterwards devolved to their Children, and Grandchildren before they were reunited into one Kingdom. There is one remarkable Inſtance more in the *Daniſh* Hiſtory of this Kingdom being divided into three Parts, betwixt *Waldemar*, *Canute*, and *Sueno*. For after the Death of *Eric* ſirnamed the *Lamb*, during the Minority of *Waldemar* I. who was declared King before, contended for the Crown of *Denmark* *Sueno* and *Canute*, the firſt having on his ſide the *Zealanders*, and Inhabitants of *Schonen*, the latter the *Jutlanders*; being at laſt tired by the Wars, the Deciſion was referred to *Waldemar* I. who dividing the Kingdom into three Parts, aſſigned to himſelf *Jutland*, to *Canute* *Zealand* and *Funen*, and to *Sueno*, *Schonen*, *Halland* and *Blekingen*, and that all three ſhould be called Kings. And even ſince that

Pontan. L. 6, 7, 8.

Meurſ. Hiſt. Dan. lib. 5.

that time that the Family of *Oldenburg* has ruled in *Denmark*, *Chriſtiern* I, dying *Anno* 1482. at *Copenhagen*, divided the Kingdom, and that by Teſtament, betwixt his two Sons *John* and *Frederick*; giving to the Eldeſt the Kingdoms, and to the Youngeſt the Dukedoms. And it is remarkable, that when afterwards both *Frederick* and the *Holſteiners* urged the Execution of *Chriſtiern* I's Will, it was alledged for a reaſon by them, that ſince *John* the Eldeſt had for his ſhare two Kingdoms, it was no more than reaſon that the Dukedom ſhould come to *Frederick*, in recompenſation of what *John* had obtained. Truly, if the Succeſſion of *Denmark* had been precarious, *Sweedland* being then already faln off from *Denmark*, this would have been a fooliſh reaſon, ſince, the Dukedoms being hereditary, and very conſiderable in themſelves, the Younger would have had much the better ſhare. And that the ſaid *Chriſtiern* I, had a right of diſpoſing the ſame among his Children, the States afterwards did confeſs themſelves in their Proclamation, wherein having publiſhed their reaſons for refuſing to obey *Chriſtiern* II, and receiving *Frederick* I. for their King, they alledged

Keurſ. de geſt. Joh. Reg. l. 2.

Clym. Saxon. lib. 10.

as one main reaſon for *Frederick*, that *there was due unto him his patrimonial ſhare out of his Father's Kingdom.* As out of what I have related here, it will eaſily appear, how ill grounded our Author's Aſſertions are concerning the *Daniſh* Government; ſo, he that will be ſo curious as to make a thorough ſearch into the *Daniſh* Hiſtory will be the better convinced, that the Ancient Kings enjoyed, and exerciſed the ſame Prerogatives, which are acknowledged to appertain to other hereditary Kingdoms in *Europe.* It is not to be denied, that in this as well as other Kingdoms, either during the Minority of ſome Kings, or elſe by the Diviſion of the Kingdom betwixt ſeveral Heirs, and other Accidents, many Irregularities, Conteſts, Wars and Slaughters have happened; but to draw theſe into Conſequence, and to attribute the villanous Acts of exaſperated Parties to the whole Government, is to overturn the whole frame of Hiſtory, and at once to charge all Governments with the blackeſt Villanies that can be imagined, ſince none have been free of them: And I verily believe, if a due Compariſon were made, there would be as few to be found of this Kind in the *Daniſh* Hiſtory

ſtory as in any in *Chriſtendom*. Let but any Body, who is not byaſs'd by his own Opinions, look into the Reign of *Woldemar* I. and conſider with what ſeverity he did puniſh thoſe who had laid hands on *Canute* his Predeceſſor; How afterwards *Eric* VII, in his Minority, with conſent of the Eſtates of *Denmark*, purſued the Murtherers of his Father, and their Adherents, and when fled into *Norway*, waged War with that King, partly upon that Score; With how much reluctancy the Eſtates received *Abel* for their King, who had cauſed his Brother to be murthered! and I ſay, let but any Body conſider the Succeſſion of theſe Kings, and what ſeverities have been uſed in that Kingdom againſt ſuch as did attempt the like; he will queſtionleſs be convinced how little their Hiſtories do agree with what our Author has been pleaſed to tell us of the Ancient Form of Government of the *Danes*, viz. That *if they found themſelves miſtaken in their choice, they uſed ſometimes to deſtroy him* (meaning their King) *either formally, or if he was grown too powerful, by diſpatching him without any more Ceremony, the beſt way they could; And to elect preſently a better Man in his room, ſometimes the next of Kin to him, ſometimes the valiant*

Pontan. lib. 6.

Pontan. lib. 7.

ant Man that had undertaken the killing of the Tyrant, at other times a private Person, who least dreamt of it, &c.

If these were not his own Inventions, he would have much obliged the Publick in only naming his Authors, out of whom he had his secret History of *Denmark* since the same has been never known before to the World. What he says, *That all Affairs belonging to Peace or War, Alliances, Disposals of great Offices, Contracts of Marriages,* &c. *were debated in the Meeting of the Estates*: I will not absolutely deny, but that the like instances may be given in the *Danish* History; but I could also easily shew, That the most of these have been frequently debated without them; as also that the ancient Form of Government was very much altered before *the whole Face of Affairs* (as he says) *was changed about 32 Years ago*: But that the first would be too long for these Animadversions; and of the second we shall be obliged to say something hereafter upon the Chapter, *How the Kingdom of* Denmark *became Hereditary and Absolute.* In the mean time we must not let quite pass by in silence, what he tells of the *Consequence of this Change, and their Effects,* viz. *frequent and arbitrary Taxes, and commonly very excessive*

ones,

nes, even in times of Peace; little regard being had to the occasion of them. The falling of the value of Estates, Poverty in the Gentry, extremity of Misery in the Peasants, &c. That the Taxes are now more frequent in *Denmark* than they used to be formerly in times of Peace, is what scarce any body of Sense will deny; but that the same should be the *Consequences of the late Change in* Denmark, *is not so easie to guess for a considering Person,* as this Gentleman fancies: and I am apt to think, that those who are thoroughly acquainted with the State of *Denmark* will rather say, That the Author has laid the Saddle upon the wrong Horse, as the Saying is, since these Taxes are the *Consequences and Effects* of that so unprosperous War betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which did end in the Year 1660. The chief Calamities of which were partly occasioned by the mismanagement and miscarriages of these Times, which preceded this *Change*. For who, that is not ignorant in Foreign Affairs, but knows how considerable a Loser *Denmark* was by this War, as *Swedeland* got most prodigiously, not only in *Denmark* but also in *Germany*. It is then to this encrease of the *Swedes*, and other neighbouring Princes, whose Territories

surround

surround *Denmark*, that *these* more frequent *Taxes* are to be attributed; since he that will duly consider the antient Conteſt betwixt the Northern Crowns; what great Power and Strength *Swedeland* has acquired to it ſelf within theſe Fifty Years; and how the *Swediſh* Territories joyn to the King of *Denmark*'s in *Norway*; how they are only parted in *Denmark* by that narrow Streight, called the *Sound*; as the Dukedoms of *Bremen* and *Verden* are only ſeparated from *Holſtein* by the River *Elbe*, may eaſily be convinced, That the King of *Denmark*, though his Territories are conſiderably diminiſhed, yet is obliged to keep a much greater Army conſtantly on Foot than formerly, if he will not run the hazard of being ſuprized and put to the utmoſt Extremity, as his Father was in the War with the *Swedes*. Beſides this, the Houſe of *Lunenburgh*, being grown more Potent, and keeping greater Forces on Foot than they uſed to do formerly; as alſo the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, whoſe Territories in a great many places are intermingled with thoſe of *Denmark*, having of late Years been in the Intereſt of *Sweden*, puts the King of *Demark* to a vaſt charge, of keeping a conſiderable Force conſtantly

conſtantly on that ſide. 'Tis then from the circumſtances of the Affairs of *Denmark*, and their Neighbours that the effects of theſe Taxes (now uſual in *Denmark*) do proceed; which in a Kingdom leſs powerful than formerly, and yet forced to maintain a much greater Force both by Sea and Land, muſt needs now much exceed thoſe in former Times. If the Author had not forgot what he himſelf had remark'd at the end of his firſt Chapter, concerning the *Daniſh* Dominions; *That they had this Inconveniency, that they were diſjoyned and ſeparated from each other, and therefore expoſed to many dangers, and requiring a more than ordinary expence to preſerve them entire*, he might from thence alone, conſidering the State of Affairs now in *Europe*, have reaſonably concluded, That the Taxes levied in the Kingdom of *Denmark*, were rather the *Conſequences* of their Situation now, than the *Effects* of the *late Change*; and that therefore it could with no Juſtice be aſſerted, what he has told us here, *That in impoſing the ſame upon the Subjects, little regard was commonly had* (in *Denmark* now) *to the occaſion of them.* The Author alſo ought to have taken into Conſideration, when he made this malicious

malicious Assertion, how this would agree with what he has endeavoured to perswade us in several Passages in this Treatise, about the Meanness of the *Danish* Court, and the continual want of Money there; as also, what a great number of Fortresses he gives us an Account of; all which being necessarily to be maintained by Garrisons, and otherwise, he might easily have found out, that these things contradict one another; since, if it be true, that the Court has so small a share for its Use in these Taxes that are paid in *Denmark*, it is from thence evident, that a necessity of maintaining so considerable Forces and Fortresses, but not *an Arbitrary Will, without having a regard to the Occasion*, enforces the paying of greater Taxes now in *Denmark* than formerly. As to what he says of the *Value of the Land being fallen*, of the *Poverty of the Gentry, and Misery of the Peasants*, every body can easily guess, That in this, as in all other Matters of that Nature some Grains of Allowance must be given to this Gentleman's Romantick Expressions, wherewith he has all along endeavoured to ensnare the ignorant sort of People into a belief of his own Suppositions. Yet is

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it not to be wondred at, that the value of the Eſtates ſhould be leſs now, when ſo conſiderable Taxes are paid out of them, than they were formerly, when the Gentry, being the ſole Poſſeſſors of Lands, and having the chief Sway in the Kingdom, uſed to be ſure to exempt themſelves as much as was poſſible. The ſame Reaſon may be given why the Gentry or Nobility in *Denmark* in general, do not live up to that Splendor as they did in former times; ſince having in thoſe Days all places of Profit and Truſt in their Hands, and paying very ſmall Taxes, it is evident, that at this time, when to theſe Places others are admitted as well as they, and are alſo obliged to bear a proportionable ſhare in all Taxes, their Revenues cannot be ſo great now as they were formerly. Of the Peaſants we ſhall be obliged to ſay ſomething hereafter: wherefore we will go to the next Chapter, which deſcribes *the manner how the Kingdom of* Denmark *became Hereditary and abſolute. After the Concluſion of the Peace*, ſays the Author, *between the Two Northern Crowns*, Anno 1660, *Some conſiderable care and time was neceſſary to redreſs the Diſorders occaſioned by ſo terrible a War.* Denmark *had been moſt violently ſhaken; and although*

though the Fury of the Tempest was over, the Agitation caused by it still continued; The Army was not yet disbanded, nor could be, for want of Money to discharge Arrears: This caused frequent Insolencies in the Soldiers, with a further Oppression of the Burghers and poor Country People, who had been in a manner already ruined by the Miseries attending the War, the Nobility, and Gentry, tho' Lords and Masters were full of Discontents, and the Clergy not in the condition they wished, &c. Here the Author gives us some hints rather than reasons, which induced the Estates of *Denmark* to make so remarkable a Change in the Government.

But, since from hence does depend the understanding of the true nature of this Change, he ought, I think, to have been a little more circumstantial in this Point, if he intended to prove to us what he said in the conclusion of the last Chapter; *That it was astonishing to consider how a free and rich People should be perswaded intirely to part with their Liberties.* Astonishing indeed; But if this Gentleman, *by the People* does understand all the Estates of the Kingdom, as he ought to do, and has done so in other

places,

places, when he alledged that famous Law of the *Romans*, *Salus populi suprema Lex esto*, he has not hit the mark right in this assertion, since, by his own words it may be proved, that *the Nobility were Lords and Masters*, and all the rest depending on them. It will not be a very difficult task, to find out by what steps the Nobility in *Denmark*, did acquire this Power over all the rest; if we consider how the Nobility first clipt the Royal Prerogatives, after that Crown was transferred to the *Oldenburg* Family; and more especially, after the deposing of *Christiern* the II. How after the Reformation the Power of the Bishops and Prelates, (who were chosen commonly out of the Citizens) being fall'n together with their Revenues, the Nobility made thereby the greatest step, that could be, towards the advancing their own Power above the Citizens and Peasants not only, but also the Clergy; who now were no more in a capacity to keep up the ballance, as they used to do formerly. The King's Prerogatives being thus brought into narrow bounds, and the Clergy's Authority and Power quite abolished, the Citizens alone were not able to resist long against

those, who, sitting at the Helm, had the chief management of all affairs of moment; and the Peasants, being most of them depending from the Nobility, by being partly their Tenants, partly their Vassals, were not in a condition of making, so much as a shew, of resistance, against the Power of their Lords and Masters. Thus the name of the four ancient Estates of *Denmark*, viz. the *Nobility, Clergy, Citizens* and *Peasants* remaining, the Power was effectually lodged in the first, which from time to time did encrease to that degree, that not only the whole Senate of the Kingdom, and all the great Offices of the Court were in their possession, but also they did claim a right to all the rest of any moment, and a privilege to be consulted withall in the disposing of any Office of moment, even to be given to a Nobleman. They did claim a Prerogative, and actually exercised the same of nominating the Magistrates in the Cities, and had so encroached upon the rest of the Estates that neither Clergyman, Citizen or Peasant could purchase any Lands; and if by Mortgaging or otherwise any Lands happened to fall into their hands, they were obliged by a yearly, publick Proclamation

tion to proffer the ſame to ſale to the Nobility, upon the ſame condition as they were poſſeſſed of it. From hence came the dependancy of the Citizens from them, and the entire ſubjection of the Peaſants to their Will, and by poſſeſſing moſt all the Lands in the Kingdom, and thereby having the Rights of Patronages, in a great meaſure, in their own hands; the Clergy was alſo, for the moſt part, fain to dance after their Pipe. It is eaſie, I think, to imagine, the natural conſequence of this to have been, That they exempting themſelves, as much as could be done, from Taxes, and other burdens, the ſame did fall more heavy upon the reſt; and theſe not being able alone, to provide ſufficiently for the ſecutity of the Kingdom, this was one main reaſon, why the Kingdom was ſo ſurprized by the *Swedes*, and did contribute as much as any thing towards the Miſeries, which theſe Countries endured in this War. There was another great reaſon yet, which, as it contributed greatly to the miſeries and misfortunes this Kingdom was fain to undergo in this War; ſo queſtionleſs was it partly the Occaſion of the great Change afterwards made by the States.

After the Death of *Chriſtiern* IV. a certain Party of the Nobility were for excluding *Frederick* III. ſecond Son of the ſaid King *Chriſtiern* IV. after the death of *Chriſtiern* his elder brother, and for ſetting up *Wolmar* his younger Son by a ſecond Wife, whoſe Siſters were married to ſeveral noble Men, which, though they could not effect, yet were (before *Frederick* III. this preſent King of *Denmark*'s Father was received by them as King) the royal prerogatives more ſtreightned than ever, and thereby the power of ſome of the Nobility mightily increaſed; which did give occaſion to a great many Diſſenſions in that Kingdom afterwards: And it is very remarkable, that when *Charles* the King of *Sweden* ſurpriſed the Kingdom of *Denmark* the ſecond time, *viz. Anno* 1658. He uſed it for a Pretence, *that he came to compoſe the Differences ariſen betwixt the King and the Nobility.* Beſides this, the Commons did lay their Calamities, ſuſtained in the late Wars, in a great meaſure, at the door of the Nobility; for, that, by having excluded all the the reſt even from military Employments (ſo that it was a rarity to find a Commoner above the ſtation of a Captain)

Captain) and a great many of these not having done their Duty in defending some Places of the greatest moment, they had been the cheif Occasion of these great Progresses which were made at that time by the *Swedes* in *Denmark*. There was a manifest Instance of this in the Siege of that almost impregnable Castle of *Cronenburg*, the most considerable Fortress of all *Denmark*; as being built with incredible Charges, upon Oaken Piles fastend in the very bottom of the Sea; which being defended by a sufficient Garrison, and abounding in ammunition and provision, under the Conduct and Command of three Governours, was surrendred to *Wrangel* the *Swedish* General meerly out of fear; he having, by discharging of his Cannon and other Demonstrations of Joy, deceived the Governours into a belief that *Copenhagen* was taken by the *Swedes*. The woful Experience then the *Danes* had had of these and such like Miscarriages were the true Cause of finding a Necessity of Changing the Constitution of their Government. Without which, they saw it was impossible to avoid the same Dangers and Calamities which they had so lately undergone. It

would be too tedious to insert here other Reasons that might be alledg'd for this Change; as also the whole Narrative of our Authors concerning the manner of this Change, wherein he has been more taken up with the Formalities than the true Causes; yet, out of what he has said, it may appear, that he contradicts here, what he had said before, *that they were a free People*; wherefore we must insert some of them to make the Case the plainer out of the Treatise it self. Thus he says; *After some few days Session*, speaking of that Session when the Change was made in *Denmark*, *during which the Nobility, according to their usual practice, debated, how the Sums of Money requisite might with greatest ease and conveniency be levied upon the Commons without the least Intention of bearing any proportionable Share themselves, several Disputes arose, and many sharp Expressions passed between them and the Commons. The Nobility were for maintaining their ancient Prerogative of paying nothing by way of Tax, but only by voluntary Contribution; and shewing themselves too stiff at a time when the Country was exhausted, and most of the remaining Riches lodged in their hands; They*

seemed

seemed to make use of this Occasion, not only to vindicate but even to widen and enlarge their Privileges above the other two Estates, by laying Impositions on them at pleasure, which Weight they themselves would not touch with one of their Fingers any further than as they thought fitting. On the other hand, the Clergy for their late adherence to the Interest of their Country, and the Burghers for the vigorous defence of their City thought they might justly pretend to new merit, and be considered at least as good Subjects in a State, which they themselves had so valiantly defended. They remembred the great Promises made to them when dangerous Enterprises were to be taken in hand, and how successfully they had executed them, thereby saving from a foreign Yoke not only the City of Copenhagen, *but the whole Kingdom, the Royal Family, nay those very Nobles that now dealt so hardly with them: They judged it therefore reasonable that the sums of money necessary should be levied proportionably, and that the Nobility who enjoyed all the Land, should at least pay their share of the Taxes, since they had suffered less in the common Calamity as well as done less to prevent the Progress of it.* These Words, I think, do

not want any further Observations, since they are sufficiently explained by what I have said before concerning the Causes of this Change of Government, and may rather serve as a Confirmation of what has been alledged there concerning this point. I will only add, that passage (also related by the Author) between *Otto Craeg* one of the chief Senators then, and *Nanson* the then President of the City of *Copenhagen* and Speaker of the Commons. For *Otto Craeg* did not stick to tell the President, *That the Commons neither understood nor considered the Privileges of the Nobility, who at all times had been exempted from Taxes, nor the true Condition of themselves who were no other than Slaves*, (the Word in the *Danish* is Unfree) *so that their best way was to keep within their Bounds*, &c. To which the President replied, *That the Commons were no Slaves, nor would from thence forth called so by the Nobility, which they should soon prove to their Cost.* These passages alone are convincing Arguments how free a People the *Danes* were at that time, and that it is more like a Romance than a Truth, what he says, in the Conclusion of this Chapter, *That the Commons have since experienced, that*

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the little Finger of an absolute Prince can be heavier than the Loins of many Nobles. It being apparent enough, out of what has been said upon this Subject, that the Estates of *Denmark* were not only treated by the Nobles as *Slaves*, but that they also esteemed them as such; and that things were come to that pass, that they must either be in continual *Slavery* to the *Nobility* at home, and in fear of a *foreign Yoak* from their Neighbours, or else strive, by a *Change* in the Government, to meliorate in some measure their Condition. What he says concerning the Citizens of *Copenhagen*; *that they have only obtained the insignificant Privilege of wearing Swords*, in this his *grave and sensible men* have grossly abused him.

For not to mention here, that this as well as other Priviledges were granted to them before the change of Government, to encourage them to a vigorous Defence at the time of the Siege of *Copenhagen*, the same were not so insignificant: For besides a great many Privileges for the benefit of Trade, a Vote was allowed them in all publick Consultations; a Privilege was given them to purchase any Lands and Lordships whatsoever, and

and to enjoy them with the same Right as the Nobles: They were not to be burthened with any Impositions, but such as the Nobles did bear; and not that, but by publick Consent: They were to be free from all Contributions or Inquarterings whatsoever in times of Peace; and their Children were to be admitted to all Honours and publick Offices equally with Noble-Mens Children.

These were no insignificant Privileges at that time, when most of the same were only challenged by the Nobility; and since the purchasing and enjoying of Lands, as also their being capable of publick Offices and Honours, have also after the Change of the Government been communicated to the rest of the Subjects in *Denmark*; and that the Nobles bear their proportionable Share in such Taxes as the Necessity of their Affairs obliges them to pay. It is evident that the Nobility have been the chief Loosers by that Change, and that the other Estates, by being very near made equal to them in a great many Respects, are Gainers and not Losers by it. I might take here an Opportunity to enlarge my self upon some Rules of Policy which

which were mentioned by our Authour upon this Subject in his Preface, *viz. That no People in their right Wits can be ſuppoſed to conſer an abſolute Dominion; That ſuch a Donation ought to be eſteemed of no greater Validity than the Gift made by a Mad-man, or a Child, from his lawful Succeſſours. That nothing which even the repreſentative Body of the People does, which ſhall afterward tend to the detriment of the Univerſality, can then be obligatory*, &c. But that theſe are Matters of too nice a Nature to be tranſitorily treated of; as alſo what might be ſaid conſidering the manner of the Proceedings of the Commons of *Denmark* (related by the Authour at large) when they obliged the Nobility to concurr with them in the Change of the Government. But thus much may be ſaid according to this Gentleman's own Suppoſitions, that if even ſome Matters, which the *repreſentative Body of the People* does, may be *invalid*, I ſee no Reaſon why it ſhould not be juſtifiable in the Commons of *Denmark* to have taken an Opportunity to free themſelves of theſe Incroachments, which were made upon them by the Nobility; and the Matter duely weighed, will, I believe,

lieve, to the most Judicious, appear not so much to be transacted like *Children* or *Madmen*, but like *People in their right Wits*. What he has added, *That the Clergy were the only Gainers*, in the Point, is, I am sure, what no man that knows *Denmark* can comprehend, they having not gained any thing by it, what they had not before, but what all the rest also have obtained at the same time. As to his *Passive Obedience Principle riding Triumphant*, there has been so much said of it in the *Preface*, that it would be superfluous to repeat it here.

In the next Chapter being the VIII. where he speaks concernig the *Condition, Customs, and Temper of the People*, he talks of such appearances of *Slavery, Laziness, and idle despondency, of carelessness and insensibility*, all which he has interwoven with his own Tragical Inventions, that one would rather believe the whole to be fitted for a piece of Tragedy, than History; it would be ridiculous therefore to answer every particular Whimsical Conceit, of which this Chapter is almost as full as *Hudibras*; it will suffice to hint at two or three passages, from whence may be guessed, with what candor he has related

lated to us the reſt. One inſtance of this is what he relates, *That there is no buying or ſelling of Lands here*, and tells it as a Miracle, That ſome Lands were ſold to one Monſieur *Texera* a rich *Jew*, at *Hamburg*, and one Monſieur *Marſeilles* a *Dutch* Merchant, but that *they were fain to take theſe Lands for Money owing to them from the King*: As what concerns the firſt, I am apt to believe, I have *it from as Grave and Senſible Men* as his could be, and beſides of ſuch as were very underſtanding and not ignorant in this matter, who have aſſured me, that this Money was not owing to *Texera* from the King, neither had he his Lands from him, but being a very conſiderable Debt due to him from particulor perſons in *Denmark*, (whom I could name if I thought it convenient) he took theſe Lands for the Payment of the ſame. The ſecond, it is true, had his Lands from the King in lieu of Money owing to him, but it is alſo to be obſerved, that he having been *Daniſh* Factor at *Amſterdam*, and having left a very great Eſtate behind him, it is ſuppoſed he had got the greateſt part of it by his Factorſhip; ſo, that if he paid ſomewhat extraordinary for thoſe Lands, he had queſtion-

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leſs got ſo conſiderably by the King, that he might afford to buy it at a better rate than another would do. And truly a great many the like inſtances might be given in other Countries alſo, and if they were repreſented ſo maliciouſly as theſe have been, they would perhaps appear worſe than theſe; ſince in moſt Countries, there are without doubt to be found, who would take Lands, tho' at an extraordinary rate, where Money is not to be had. But, what he ſays in this Chapter concerning the *Prodigality not only of the Gentry, but alſo of the Burgers and Peaſants, of their expenſiveneſs in Coaches, Retinue, Cloathes,* &c. we muſt take a little notice of, and put him in mind of what he ſaid before, *That they lived very miſerably*; but theſe contradictions are with him ſo common, that it was impoſſible to remember them all; I will only add, that it is to their too free and expenſive way of living, and the Sumptuouſneſs eſpecially of their Weddings, Chriſtnings and Burials, that ought to be aſcribed to what has been obſerved; *That the People in general are not ſo rich here as in ſome other places.* A great many more Obſervations might be made upon his malicious way of repreſenting

preſenting matters in this Chapter, of which ſcarce any one is related without Paſſion; but we will add but one more upon what he ſays concerning the Peaſants. *In Zealand*, ſays he, *they are all as abſolute Slaves as the* Negroes *are in* Barbadoes; *neither they, nor their Poſterity, to all Generations, can leave the Land, to which they belong. There is no computing there by number of Acres, but by number of Boors, who with all that belong to them, appertain to the Proprietors of the Land. Teamontry, which is the ſtrength of* England, *is a ſtate not known or heard of in* Denmark. *If any of theſe Wretches prove to be of a diligent and improving temper, who endeavours to live a little better than his Fellows, and to that end has repaired his Farm-Houſe, making it convenient, neat, or pleaſant, it is forty to one, but he is preſently tranſplanted from thence to a naked and uncomfortable habitation*, &c. Here is the full and true account of the Peaſantry in *Denmark*, where in he has again been moſt miſerably deceived by his *grave and ſenſible men*, that inſtructed him. For that they are as abſolute ſlaves as the *Negroes*, in this as well as in the reſt, he has been ſtrangely miſinformed: The Vaſſals then in the Iſlands of *Zealand*, *Laland*, *Falſter*, and *Moenen*,

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(for in the other parts of *Denmark*, few of them are to be found,) are such as either they themselves, or their Fore-Fathers, have by paying a certain Fine to Landlords, purchased to themselves certain Farm-Houses and Grounds thereunto belonging, under Conditions of paying certain yearly proportions of the Product of the Land, and doing some other petty Services to the Landlord. Now it being sufficiently known to all that understand the Rights of Villainage in this and some other Countries, that these yearly Contributions out of the Product of the Lands, and Services to be done to the Landlords, are determined by most antient Laws; I will give any Man leave to judge, with what sincerity the Author has described to us the State of the Peasantry: He might as well say, that these in *England* and all their Posterities, who possess Copy-holds, cannot leave the Land which belongs to them, since it is all the same Case, only that here we have power to sell, and transfer our Right to another, which cannot be done there, without the consent of the Landlord; but for the rest it is rather esteemed among them a Priviledge, That they cannot be put out of

a Farm at pleasure, which Tye is by the Laws of these Countries made reciprocal, between the Landlord and Vassal. And this Tye is so insignificant in this Country, that you meet with frequent Examples, not only of such as for the value of three pound Sterling, buy their freedom from their Landlords, but also a great many Peasants out of *Jutland*, *Funen* and other Illands, where they are not Vassals, transplant themselves into the other parts, and by paying a Fine make themselves Vassals; they finding it more commodious to live in that State, than with the Title of Freeman to be in continual fear of being ruined by their Landlords, if they do not pay their yearly Rent. And since all these Peasants are possessed of some Lands, less or more; nothing can be more more vain than what he endeavours to perswade us, that there is no *computing there by Acres, but by Boors*. And as it is not in the Power of any Landlord to remove a Peasant from his Farm-house, without his consent, so he has no propriety in his Goods; and a Peasant now, that has got any thing by his Industry, may purchase Lands as well as the best Nobleman. What he says, that *no Tromarty is there*, is also of the same Stamp with the rest; since in those parts of *Denmark*, where the Peasants are not Vassals (as it is not in the most part of that Kingdom) there are to this day Peasants who possess Lands by right of Inheritance, and the rest are Tenants by paying yearly Rents, as we do here in *England*.

Another Grievance he tells us of *Quartering of Souldiers*; but, if in a Country where Necessity obliges to keep a Standing Army, Souldiers should not be quartered in the houses of the Subjects, the Souldiers would be in a very bad Case; and since no body is exempted from that burthen in

Denmark; and that by paying a small matter you may keep the Inmate from your Door, and House; this is not effected so but then soon as it doth appear at first Sight. He says that the *Tables of the better sort are well furnished with Dishes, but he does not like the Cheer*: Truly it is no new thing that People used to their own Country Diet, do not like that of other Countries; Like the *Russian* Squire, who being treated in *France* with such Dainties as are frequent there, could not be perswaded to stay above three days, because he long'd for such Apple-Dumplings as he used to eat at his Father's House, and yet the Cheer may be nothing the worse for it. But I perceive the chief want was in *Denmark*, that they had no cramm'd Capons: to this may be answer'd, that in *Denmark* where Corn is extraordinary cheap, the same are rather fed in the Houses out of hand as they call it, and it is also notorious, that *the same, as well in other, as this Country*, are preferred before cramm'd Fowl, except by some that are particularly fond of a large fat *London* Rump. In the mean time, the *Dane*, to my Knowledge, loving a dainty Bit as well as any body, would have been very much obliged to this Gentleman if he would have vouchsafed to have set his Name to this Treatise, that, sometimes over a Glass of Wine and fat Capon, they might have celebrated in after Ages (as they do with their Geese on *Martin's* Eve) the Memory of him in whose days the Mystery of Cramming tame Fowl was first reveal'd and established at *Copenhagen*: the next relation he makes of a Country woman that would not sell him Green Geese to his Company, he gives us as an instance of their simplicity and superstition; for a Week after she brought four to them, saying, *That she had had no luck with them, since the Kite had eat Eight of them.* A most

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remarkable History to prove the simplicity of a whole, or at least the greatest part of a Nation; it being evident that in the most civilized Nations some Country People are soon surprized at any thing that is new to them, and generally addicted to their little superstitious Fancies.

And yet I can affirm it, that I have eat about the beginning of *June*, in the King of *Denmark*'s Territories (though not in *Copenhagen*) as delicious Green Geese at a Gentleman's Seat, as ever I eat any where else. And I remember a certain *Frenchman* living in these parts, who having a particular way of feeding Capons, used to sell them at 10 s. Sterling a piece. But leaving these Trifles, we shall return to other more serious Matters. The two next following Chapters containing a particular Recital of the *King's Revenue, and of the Army, Fleet and Fortresses*; little can be added to it of any Moment, but only to put the Reader in mind, that if an equitable Ballance be made betwixt the said Revenue, and the Number of Land and Sea forces; as also of the Fortresses and their Charge; it will from thence be evident, how unjustly the Author has deal with us, when he endeavoured to perswade us, that the *Taxes in* Denmark *were the Effects of an abusive Government, and that little regard was had there to the occasion of them*. The eleventh Chapter treats of the Court, wherein you may meet with so many Extravagancies, that it would be endless to pretend to refute them. He make bold with the King and Royal Family; he pretends to tell you what is commendable or not in them: As for the Ministers of State, he describes their Humors, Capacities, and other Qualifications to a hair; as if he (like the *Turkish-Spy*,) had dived into the most obstruse Secrets of them. I know, that boldness

(like action in an Orator) takes often-times much more with the vulgar Sort of People, than true Sense; but when it transcends all the Rules of Decency, and Reason it self, it cannot but be odious to all, who are lovers of Moderation and Truth.

This Gentleman must have a very mean Opinion of the Capacity of the *English* (though questionless he has a very calm ordinary one of his own) to perswade himself, that his vain and confident Assertions could ensnare the more judicious Sort into a belief, that a nameless Romantick Politician, who has committed so many Errors, (and some of them very obvious, even to Men of indifferent parts and knowledge) in this Treatise, ought to be taken for a proper Judge of the Qualifications and Conditions of a whole Court. What he lays concerning his Majesty, the present King of *Denmark*, that *he neither loves, nor has a Genius for business*, must needs seem the oddest Assertion that can be to those, who have seen and known, with what Activity that King appears everywhere, how seldom he is absent from his Council, when any matter of Moment is in debate, and how he in Person assists frequently in the highest Court of Justice, and there takes particular notice of the matters in Controversie. Of his Excellency *Guldinlieu*, he speaks much to the same purpose, as that *he loves his Divertisements rather than to embark himself deep in the publick Affairs*, when it is known to all who understand the *Danish* Court, that, as it cannot be denied, but that this great Person understands the enjoyment of pleasures, so he never addicts himself to them, so much as to neglect the publick Business; What he has also said of his *having burnt his Fingers en some occurrences*, and *that King* Frederick *his Father thought*

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case of making him King of Norway, cannot be look'd upon by ambitious Persons, who are acquainted with the Affairs of Denmark, otherwise than as an unanswerable Slander forged by his grave and sensible Men. If we should take notice of all particulars of this kind, which according to this Gentleman's fancies he has related of the Ministers of State, it would exceed the compass of these Remarks. One thing I cannot but hint at, which is the too much *reservedness of Mons. Ehrenfield*, so much ridiculed by this Gentleman, in calling him *patrum difficultatum* and alledging his *circumspection*, as a great Infirmity, when by all refined Politicians *reservedness* has been always look'd upon in a States Man, much preferable before a forward Confidence; the first being commonly the product of a far seeing prudence with the latter, the effect of a conceited Vanity. There is another pretty Notion in this Chapter, which we must not pass by in silence, *viz.* That he compares the *Court* of Denmark *rather to some of our Noblemen's in* England *than* White-Hall; and, *that upon a Sunday an hour before Dinner* (being the eight-a-clock Court-Time) *the number of such as appear in the Anti-chamber and Bed-chamber seldom amounts to above* 20 or 30. I will put it to the Judgment of any sensible Body, that will compute only these Officers of the Court by him named, (besides others, as Lords of the Bed-Chamber, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, The Queens Attendance, and others not mentioned) the considerable Number of Superiour Officers in the Army and Fleet; And more especially, if any one will take the pains to peruse the Proclamation of the King of *Denmark*, inserted by the Author, concerning *Precedency* of the several *Officers both Civil and Military*, as also what this Author has said before, concerning

cerning their *Sumptuousness of Apparel and Equipage*, and compare all this with what he says concerning the Court, whether it have so much as a Probability of Truth in it. Much the same Allowance must be given to what he says concerning that most sumptuous and magnificent Palace of the K. of *Denmark*, called *Friderichsburg*, which being computed to have cost at least a Million Sterl. he says, *falls short of many Noblemens Country Houses in* England. It is hard, that, to verifie his Assertion, he would not name one of them; since all that ever I could meet with, who knew *Friderichsburg*, and have also been in a great many Noblemen's Seats in *England*, do unanimously take this for a most unaccountable Rodomontado. But these Remarks having increased in bulk beyond our intention, we will not insist upon what he says in the 12th and 14th Chapters, concerning *the Inclinations of the King of* Denmark *towards his Neighbours, as also of his Interests in relation to other Princes*, since a great deal may easily be said, but scarce any thing be determined, in matters of this nature. But in Chap. 13th, where he treats *of the Differences which some years ago were betwixt* Denmark *and the Duke of* Holstein Gottorp, he has shown himself very partial in not mentioning the true Cause of these proceedings. One of the chiefest was (not to mention others) that the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, holding that part of *Slesvick* which he possesses as a Feef of *Denmark*, notwithstanding this, having been assisting to the *Swedes* in the subduing of the greatest part of *Denmark*, at the Treaty at *Roschild*, 1658. had forced the K. of *Denmark* to declare him independent of that Crown, to maintain which he had ever since been in the Interest of *Swedeland*,

I do not therefore see, how the King of Denmark, with Justice could be blamed to recover his just Right. And when he saw a fair Prospect of being even with *Swedeland*, for what they taken from his Crown, to begin with drawing out first that Thorn which stuck so close to him, that without being freed from it, he could not have promised to himself the same Success as he afterwards had against the *Swedes*.

In the Fifteenth Chapt. treating of the *Laws and Courts of Justice*, as things are indifferently well related; so we will go on to the Sixteenth Chapter, where the *State of Religion, of the Clergy, and Learning* is represented; the greatest part of this being taken up with railing against the Clergy; upon which Point we have said enough in the Preface; we only will only put him in mind, That Learning is not at so low an Ebb, but that lately *Denmark* has had its *Pufendorf*, a Man to be compared to the best of our Age; and that if I had a mind to speak of the Living, I could name him some, who would be able to give other Proofs of their Learning, than our Author has done in this Treatise, though he pretends to be much beyond the common Sort: I will add but a few Words concerning what he says, *That a Popish Chappel, permitted to be built at* Glückstadt, *has been the first thing since the Reformation*; that to my Knowledge at least twenty Years ago, not only Popish Chapels, but also of most other Religions; as of *Calvinists, Independents, Anabaptists*, &c. have been erected at *Altona*, a place near *Hamburgh*, where these several Sorts of Religions are tolerated; but no religious Service allow'd them. At *Fredericia* also a free Exercise of Religion has been allowed a great many Years ago, which are two convincing Instances; that this Gentleman having been deceived

ved by his grave and sensible Men, but given us a great many things for a confessed Truth, which he had not sufficiently been instructed in.

But to come to the Conclusion: The Author in this whole Book having been so abounding every where with his own Fancies, and new Model'd Opinions, has been the Occasion, that these Remarks are increased beyond intention; if every thing should have been but touched upon, there would have been matter sufficient for a very large Book; But to have examined in particular, all his speculative Assertions, would have required whole Volumes. 'Tis for this reason that I have been obliged to let a great many of less moment slip by untouched; and as to those of more consequence, I have treated of them with as much brevity as the nicute matter would permit: Since by hinting only the Heads, and referring my Reader to the true Ancient History it self, I did not question but the more curious would take an opportunity to compare the same, both with the Author's Suppositions and the historical Account it self. What he has related of such matters as are not extant in Histories; wherein the sacred Laws of History have obliged me to contradict his ill-grounded Relation, I will only say thus much: That as the Kingdom of *Denmark* is very well known to me, so I am sure I have related nothing, but what I not only very well know, but also can easily prove, by unquestionable Witnesses who are not ashamed to own their Names. And if this Gentleman's Friends, who instructed him had had a little less *Gravity*, but somewhat more *Knowledge* in these Affairs, which they pretended to understand, we might questionless have expected a more fair Account of *Denmark*.

FINIS.